

"THE FATE OF THE NATION  
WAS DECIDED IN FREEPORT THAT DAY"



SIXTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE  
FREEPORT, ILLINOIS, AUGUST 26, 1922



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# LINCOLN - DOUGLAS BOOK

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## HISTORICAL SKETCH

of the causes leading to the

## FREEPORT LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

AUGUST 27, 1858

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## THE GREAT FREEPORT DEBATE

A turning point in American History; the speeches of

Lincoln and Douglas


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## A SKETCH of the HISTORY of the CITY of FREEPORT

AUGUST 26, 1922

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Edited and compiled by L. A. FULWIDER  
for the Citizens Committee under direction of the  
Freeport Chamber of Commerce



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## Historic Freeport Lincoln-Douglas Debate

**A** FEW events stand out preeminent in American history. They have determined the course of our national life. Among these events are the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620, the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the making of the Constitution in 1787, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the Lincoln-Douglas Debate in Freeport in 1858, the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, the Surrender of Lee in 1865, and the Declaration of War against Germany in 1917. Around these events may be told the story of the origin, the expansion, the achievements and the ideals of the American people.

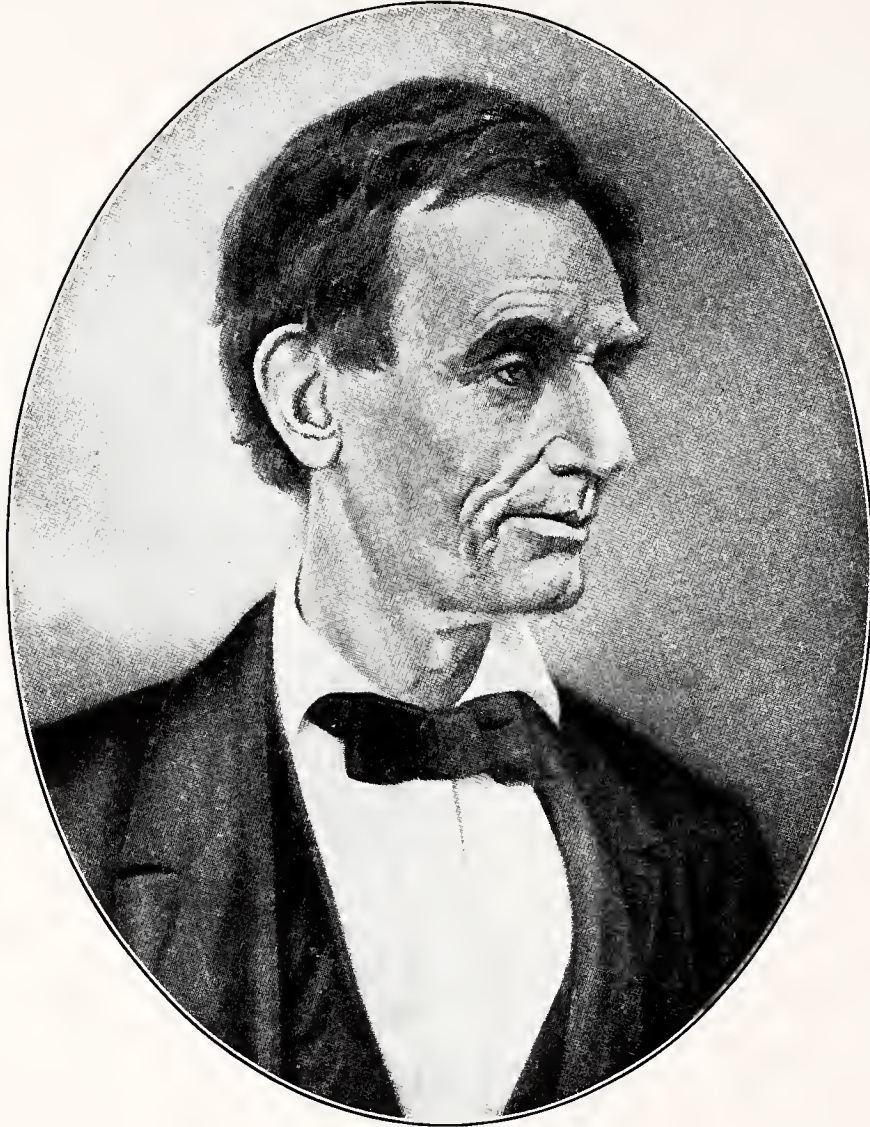
*It is with patriotic pride that the people of Freeport recognize that the boulder at the corner of East Douglas Street and North State Avenue marks the site of one of the great epochal events in the history of our Republic. In reverent appreciation do we observe the stranger in our city as invariably he stands with bowed, uncovered head at the foot of that monument to commune with the exalted spirit of Lincoln. It is to that shrine to which, in times of our country's need, we may go, and to which "our children and our children's children" may go to drink devoutly and deep from the fountain of patriotic national ideals.*

*It means much to us all to know that every History of the United States makes mention of the fact that here in Freeport on the site marked by the boulder, occurred one of few decisive events of our national life; that here was no mere incident, but "an event that marked an era;" that "the fate of the nation was decided in Freeport that day;" that as a consequence there followed that event, in logical sequence, the election of Lincoln in 1860, the secession of the Southern States, a great civil war, the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing four million negro slaves, the surrender of Lee at Appomattox and the preservation of the national union.*

*On the site marked by that boulder monument August 27, 1858, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, two of America's brainiest statesmen, able, honest and brave, clarified the conflicting and bewildering issues that had puzzled the minds of the American people for a generation, and here set in motion an idea that determined the course of American history through the Republic's most critical period. On that day here in Freeport the die was cast; the Rubicon was crossed; the hand was put to the plow, and there was no turning back till the issues of that crisis were solved, and this government "of the people, by the people and for the people" was not permitted to perish from the earth. Here in Freeport by this monument on that day the answer of Douglas to the famous second question of Lincoln, determined the course of events from the election of Lincoln in 1860, to Grant's victory over Lee in 1865, four years that were like a century of achievement, for at the end slavery had been abolished, states rights, nullification and secession that had threatened the perpetuity of the Republic for a generation were eliminated; the National Union, inspired by the Declaration of Independence of 1776, and based on the grand constitution of 1787, had been preserved, and in the words of Webster, the world beheld "the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, \* \* \* everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."*

*To bring to every man, woman and child in Freeport a clear understanding of the historical significance of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate in Freeport, August 27, 1858; to bring to every one a realization that that boulder is a landmark in the history of our commonwealth; and through this object lesson in patriotic citizenship, to arouse in each and all a 100 per cent appreciation of, faith in, and unswerving loyalty to, our city, our state and our nation—these are the purposes of this celebration and the aims of this book.*





**Abraham Lincoln**

Born February 12, 1809, in Kentucky, moved to Southern Indiana in 1816, moved to Illinois in 1830, was a laborer, clerk, surveyor, soldier in the Black Hawk war, in legislature 1834 to 1840, in congress 1846 to 1848, in Lincoln-Douglas debates 1858, the debate in Freeport resulting in his election to the presidency in 1860, re-elected in 1864, assassinated by John Wilkes Booth and died April 15, 1865.



**Stephen Arnold Douglas**

Born April 23, 1813, in Brandon, Vermont, was farm laborer, cabinet maker, attended an academy, started west in 1833, studied law in Cleveland, with \$40 started for Illinois, taught school in Winchester, Illinois; lawyer in Jacksonville, states attorney in 1835, in legislature the next year, Register of Land Office, Secretary of State in Illinois, Supreme Court Judge, member of Congress at thirty-five, U. S. Senator, Lincoln-Douglas debates, died June 3, 1861.





**One of America's Greatest Historic Monuments, on the Site  
of the Freeport Lincoln-Douglas Debate**

"A monument that ranks in historic importance with Plymouth Rock."—Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana.

"While Freeport stands with one stone upon another, her people should see to it that the great debate should continue to be told from sire to son."—James Albert Woodburn, Professor of American History, University of Indiana.



## *Lincoln's Historic Second Question* *In the Great Freeport Debate, August 27, 1858*

### *Douglas's Reply—"The Freeport Doctrine"* *or Douglas's "Freeport Heresy"*

LINCOLN: *"Can the people of a United States territory, in a lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?"*

DOUGLAS: *"In my opinion the people of a territory can by lawful means exclude slavery from their limits, prior to the formation of a state constitution. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as the abstract question whether slavery may go into the territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to exclude it or to introduce it as they please, for the reason that slavery can not exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations."*

The reply of Douglas in response to Lincoln's question before 15,000 people in Freeport August 27, 1858, made Douglas U. S. Senator, but made Douglas impossible as a candidate of the Southern Democrats for the presidency in 1860, split the Democratic party, made Lincoln president, with a train of consequences most momentous in American history—the secession of the Southern States, civil war, the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 that freed four million negro slaves, the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, the death-blow to states rights, nullification and secession—and above all, the preservation of the union and the constitution, the greatest factors for the advancement of modern civilization.

*"In the great debates (at Freeport) Lincoln forced Douglas upon the dilemma created for him by the Dred Scott decision, and made him an impossible presidential candidate for the Southern Democrats in 1860, by forcing him to deny to the South the full benefits of the Dred Scott decision."*—Woodrow Wilson, in his *"History of the American People."*

*"We meet today to commemorate the spot on which occurred one of those memorable scenes, in accordance with which the whole history of a nation is moulded. Here was sounded the key-note of the struggle which after convulsing the nation, made it united and free."*—President Theodore Roosevelt, in address in Freeport, June 3, 1903, dedicating Lincoln-Douglas Monument erected by the Freeport Woman's Club.



**Hon. Karl C. Schuyler**

Orator, representing the Republican party at the Lincoln-Douglas debate celebration, August 26, 1922, at Freeport.

Subject: "The Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, 1858, and the principles of that great debate applied to the solution of the problems of America today."

Mr. Schuyler's father died when the boy was fourteen, worked as office boy, attended night school, stenographer in law office, studied law, graduated from law department of Colorado State University. Leader in his profession in Denver and the west, organizer of mining companies, leader in Republican party, headed Colorado's delegates to National Republican Convention in 1912, bank director, trustee of University of Colorado, "ablest Republican leader and orator of the west," says Senator Beveridge of Indiana. "Has no peer in the Rocky Mountains," says Judge Ben B. Lindsey.





**U. S. Senator Robert Patton "Pat" Harrison**

Orator, representing the Democratic party in the Lincoln-Douglas debate celebration, August 26, 1922, at Freeport.

Subject: "The Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport in 1858, and the principles of that great debate applied to the solution of the problems of America today."

Began his career as a newsboy, graduated from Louisiana State University, taught school, studied law, district attorney six years, elected to congress in 1910, served till 1918, when elected to the U. S. senate, progressive, independent, courageous Democratic leader, brilliant orator and statesman, "chief irritant or gad-fly to the Republican majority in the U. S. senate."

## *ALL DAY PROGRAM*

### *OF*

## *Entertainment and Patriotic Instructions*

Free Historical Exhibit of Lincoln Times at Masonic Temple, August 25th, and 26th.

9:30 A. M. to 12 M. Band concerts at Courthouse.

10:30 A. M. Automobile Parade, including delegations from neighboring cities.

11:00 A. M. Daylight Fireworks at Courthouse.

12:00 Noon. Basket Picnic Dinner at Taylor's Park.

12:00 to 1:30 P. M. Band Concert at Taylor's Park.

12:30 P. M. Daylight Fireworks at Taylor's Park.

1:00 P. M. Parade to Taylor's Park.

1:00 P. M. Balloon Ascension and Daring Parachute Leap, Taylor's Park.

1:30 to 2:00 P. M. Patriotic Songs by chorus of five hundred, at Band Stand, Taylor's Park.

2:00 P. M. Addresses of the Day, Band Stand, Taylor's Park.

Hon. Karl C. Schuyler, of Colorado, Republican orator.

U. S. Senator "Pat" Harrison, of Mississippi, Democratic orator.

Subject:—"The Freeport Lincoln-Douglas Debate, August 27, 1858, and the principles of that great debate as applied to the solution of the problems of America today."

6:30 to 7:20 P. M. Band Concert at Courthouse.

7:30 P. M. Parade, Vehicles and Costumes of 1858, from Brewster House to the Boulder.

8:00 P. M. Patriotic Program at the Boulder—Band selections, quartette, impersonation in costume of Lincoln and Douglas at the great debate. Symbolic patriotic dance by Walter Eson. Star Spangled Banner, by band, quartette and audience.

*Freeport, Illinois, August 19, 1922.*

*To the Public;*

*For the City of Freeport we cordially invite you to attend the celebration of the Sixty-fourth Anniversary of the Freeport Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport, Saturday, August 26, 1922, and join with our people and enjoy with us this day of wholesome entertainment and patriotic instruction in the ideals of American citizenship, drawn from the lives and principles of Lincoln and Douglas, who in their day fearlessly stood for what they believed to be right, and joined hands in the crisis of 1861 to preserve for us the greatest government "of the people, by the people and for the people" on God's earth.*

CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE

*D. F. GRAHAM, President Freeport Chamber of Commerce*  
*AL. N. STEPHAN, Mayor of Freeport.*  
*G. X. CANNON.*  
*L. A. FULWIDER.*  
*E. R. SHAW.*



## *Historical Sketch of the Freeport Lincoln-Douglas Debate*

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**F**ROM 1820 to 1861 slavery was the foremost issue before the American people. As early as 1820 the anti-slavery agitation resulted in the Missouri Compromise which prohibited slavery north of 36° 30'. Earlier, in 1787, the Congress of the Confederation had prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory which included what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. In 1784 Jefferson had attempted to confine slavery to the states wherein it then existed.

The great men in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 were sharply divided in their views of slavery. James G. Blaine, on page one of his "Twenty Years in Congress," says: "The compromises on the slavery question, inserted in the constitution, were among the essential conditions upon which the Federal Government was organized." Thus seventy-four years before the civil war slavery was an acute political issue. During all that period from 1787 to 1850, the vital importance of organizing and maintaining a union was predominant, and the policy of compromise on the slavery question was maintained in American politics for almost three quarters of a century. In fact, during all that period most American statesmen and most of the people were calm in the belief that the slavery question could be forever compromised.

In the Missouri Compromise of 1820 slavery was prohibited north of 36° 30'. The annexation of Texas in 1845 renewed the slavery conflict. The Mexican war and the acquisition of New Mexico, Arizona, California and most of Nevada, Utah and Colorado in 1848 made fiercer yet the conflict over the extension of slavery. The escape of hundreds of fugitive slaves through "underground railroads" agitated the South, and the sale of slaves on the auction block in the nation's capitol stirred the conscience of the North. Then apparently all these vexatious problems were solved by the compromise measures of 1850, on which Congress debated bitterly from March to September. When these compromises were finally passed, Douglas then a United States

Senator, said: "I never expect to see the slavery question opened again."

### **The Kansas-Nebraska Bill**

But in 1854 the whole slavery question was not only opened again, but was opened with rancor and threats such as had never before been heard. And strange to relate, it was opened by Senator Douglas himself. Settlers from the South and settlers from the North were rapidly taking up homesteads in Kansas and Nebraska territories. As these territories were north of 36° 30', the North insisted that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 prohibited slavery there, but Southerners claimed the right to take their slaves into the new territories. The old, bitter struggle was on again more fiercely than ever.

Senator Douglas was chairman of the Committee on Territories. President Pierce was pledged not to reopen the slavery question. But the new territories must have civil governments. Monday, January 23, 1854, Senator Douglas introduced his Kansas-Nebraska bill, fully approved by President Pierce, who made it an administration measure. This bill practically repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, by declaring that measure inoperative after the passage of the Compromise of 1850, in which New Mexico and Utah territories were to be organized without mention of slavery. Douglas interpreted this to mean that the territories were to decide for themselves whether or not they were to have slavery, and that thus in 1850 Congress had set aside the restriction of 1820.

### **Split of Political Parties**

This bill, if enacted into law, would open Kansas and Nebraska to slavery. That was what the pro-slavery leaders of the South demanded. The North was thoroughly aroused against this extension of slavery. Immediately there was an open split of the Democratic party in the Senate, led by Senator Chase of Ohio. These independent Democratic senators sent out an appeal to the people of the North to oppose the bill. They attacked Douglas

severely. Southern Whigs supported the bill. There began at once a re-alignment of parties. Southern Whigs in the main became Democrats, and Northern Whigs and many northern Anti-Nebraska Democrats joined to oppose the Kansas-Nebraska bill and later organized the Republican party in 1856. The debate continued in Congress from January 23 to May 22, when the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed the House by a vote of 113 to 110, having previously passed the Senate.

Senator Douglas had taken the position that local self-government was fundamental in American policy. The people of the territories would now settle, by a popular vote, by "popular sovereignty" whether or not they were to have slavery. Douglas maintained that the people should have the right to establish their own institutions. Congress should not extend or restrict slavery. He had fought a masterly battle in congress, in which he was more than a match for Seward, and



**Fiftieth Anniversary of Lincoln-Douglas Debate,  
Address by Senator Dolliver**

Sumner and Chase in debate. He had won a great victory and he believed that his "popular sovereignty" principle, once understood, would be as popular in the North as in the South. He had well earned the title of "The Little Giant." His ambition to be president seemed likely to be realized, if not in 1856, then certainly in 1860.

### **Northern Opposition to Douglas**

Douglas was mistaken. A deep, ominous tidal wave of indignation and opposition swept over the North. Everywhere mass meetings protested against the possible extension of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. The North had believed for a generation that the 36° 30' line of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 barred slavery from the territories.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill had torn down that barrier. West in his "History of the American People," says that half the Northern Democrats voted against the bill, and the other half almost to a man lost their seats at the next election. Many Democratic leaders such as Trumbull of Illinois and Chase of Ohio, and many Democratic newspapers were outspoken against the law and against Douglas. He would have a hard fight to maintain his leadership.

### **Abraham Lincoln Aroused**

But history records that more fatal to Douglas and his "popular sovereignty" was the fact that the extension of slavery into the territories had aroused Abraham Lincoln to take a more active part in politics. At twenty-eight he had begun the practice of law and by 1854 he was regarded as the ablest jury lawyer in Illinois. In 1837 he was a member of the state legislature. In 1846 he was elected to congress, but retired to private life and his law practice in 1848. In politics he was a Whig. In 1854, aroused by Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska law, Lincoln plunged into the campaign. In that year a United States senator was to be elected. When the legislature met, Lincoln lacked but four votes of being elected to the senate. A majority was against the Nebraska law, but five refused to vote for a Whig. To avoid the election of a "regular" Democrat, Lincoln threw his influence to Trumbull, Anti-Nebraska Democrat, who was elected. Lincoln was ambitious and was extremely disappointed by this defeat. But he kept up the fight against the extension of slavery and against Douglas.

### **Douglas Wins Back Northern Support**

Douglas realized that he had lost much of Northern support by his Kansas-Nebraska bill. After 1854 Democrats deserted him to such an extent that he stood a fair chance to lose his leadership in his party. Then came two years of troubles in Kansas—raids, murders and massacres—civil war between the Northerners who were trying to make Kansas a free state and the Southerners who were trying to make it a slave state. "Bleeding Kansas" was the talk of the country. To many these disorders seemed to be the logical result of Douglas's "great principle" of popular sovereignty.

Then came the "Lecompton" affair. The Southern leaders were determined to make Kansas a slave territory in spite of the fact



that, to quote Rhodes, there were "only two or three hundred slaves in the territory." Delegates to a constitutional convention to be held at Lecompton were elected in 1857. The anti-slavery voters avoided this election, which, with only 2,000 votes of a total of more than 9,000, elected pro-slavery delegates. An election of members of the territorial legislature followed. After frauds were eliminated, the anti-slavery forces had a large majority in the house and senate of the Kansas territorial legislature. Two elections were held in Kansas to ratify or reject the constitution. The pro-slavery men voted on December 21; result, for the constitution with slavery, 6226; for the constitution, without slavery, but protecting property rights of owners of slaves then in the territory, 569. An investigation later showed 2,720 of these votes fraudulent. The free-state people refused to vote, for either way, they could vote only for slavery. The election called by the Kansas legislature was held January 4, 1858; results, for the constitution with slavery, 138; for the constitution without slavery, 24; against the constitution, 10,226. The two elections made it clear that by a great majority the people of Kansas territory, in their exercise of "popular sovereignty" wanted Kansas to be free territory.

### **Feud Between Douglas and the President**

The "great principle" of "popular sovereignty" of Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska bill was being put to a severe test in Kansas. In spite of election frauds, murder and massacre, the people of Kansas, operating under the Douglas plan of local self-government showed a decided majority against slavery. President Buchanan was on record to submit the pro-slavery constitution to a vote of the bona fide resident settlers of Kansas, because he said "This is the principle at the foundation of all popular government." But the president soon changed and became an advocate of the Lecompton pro-slavery constitution, making it an "administration" measure.

### **Douglas's Honorable Position**

What now would be the attitude of Senator Douglas? His pet idea, his "great principle" as applied in Kansas, was employed in a manner that was in a good way toward permitting a small minority to make Kansas slave territory by deception, trickery and fraud. The president supported the slavery plan. Would Senator Douglas break with

President Buchanan? The "Little Giant" did not hesitate a moment. He was in Chicago when he heard of Buchanan's plan and rising to one of the highest points in his notable career, Douglas announced immediately that he should strenuously oppose the Lecompton scheme. Whatever faults he may have had, Stephen A. Douglas was not a coward. Arriving in Washington, Douglas at once interviewed the president. Rhodes, Volume II, says: "When Buchanan said he must recommend the policy of the slave power, Douglas said he should denounce it in open senate. The president, excited, arose and said: 'Mr. Douglas, I desire you to remember that no Democrat ever yet differed from an administration without being crushed. Remember the fate of Tallmadge and Rives.' Douglas also rose, and in an emphatic manner replied, 'Mr. President, I wish you to remember that Andrew Jackson is dead.'"

On December 9, Senator Douglas made a great speech in the Senate against the Lecompton pro-slavery plan. He said the pro-slavery election in Kansas was as fair as the election of Napoleon First Consul, in which the soldiers in a grand review were told to go to the election and vote freely as they pleased; vote for Napoleon and all is well; vote against him and you are to be instantly shot. Rhodes says of Douglas's speech on December 9: "It was a manly speech, courteous, but bold, haughty and defiant." Facing a re-election campaign the next year, 1858, and never losing for a moment his ambition to be president, the Senator from Illinois stood his ground for his principle of "popular sovereignty" when that meant the loss of support from the Democratic administration and possibly the loss of support by a great block of the Southern Democracy. Only on one other occasion, in all his career, did Douglas reach higher ground than on March 9th in what has been called "the greatest forensic effort of his lifetime." But it was in this speech that he said: "If Kansas wants a slave-state constitution she has a right to it; if she wants a free-state constitution she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether it is voted up or voted down." Unlike Lincoln, Douglas was not concerned about slavery as a moral question. He was standing in 1857 as he stood in 1854, for his "popular sovereignty" principle, that the people of a territory should decide for themselves whether or not they should have slavery.

By using all the power of the administration the Lecompton bill passed the Senate by a vote of 33 to 25 in spite of Douglas's protest. In the House, however, the bill was amended providing a new vote in Kansas. Both houses finally agreed to the English bill, submitting the Lecompton constitution to a new election in Kansas. August 2, 1858, this election in Kansas resulted in 11,300 against the constitution and only 1788 for it.

### **Douglas a Hero of the North**

Senator Douglas had triumphed. But it was too early to check up his gains and losses. He had lost the support of Southern radicals and had incurred the violent opposition of the Buchanan administration. He must return to Illinois and go through a terrific campaign for re-election to the Senate, with the administration of his own party employing all means to defeat him. But there were advantages gained. Many Anti-Nebraska Democrats returned to his support because the Kansas-Nebraska bill had not made Kansas slave territory, and especially because of Douglas's notable fight against the Lecompton constitution. Then again "all the world loves a fighter," and Douglas's bold fight against the powerful national organization of his party won the admiration of the masses of Democrats and of many Republicans in the North.

### **The Menace to Lincoln**

Republicans, especially in the East, realized that Senator Douglas had made their fight, better than they could have made it, against the Lecompton constitution. Republican leaders, including Horace Greely of the *New York Tribune*, openly suggested that the Republicans of Illinois should put forth no candidate against Douglas in the campaign of 1858. This would give Republicans an opportunity to vote for Douglas and reward him for his opposition to Buchanan and the Southern extremists in the Lecompton affair. Besides the re-election of Douglas would be a defeat for the administration, paving the way for the election of a Republican president in 1860. Many were even expecting Senator Douglas to join the Republican party and become its leader. Lincoln was too apt a student of politics not to know that his ambitions were endangered, first by not being elected Senator, and second by losing to Douglas the leadership of Illinois Republicans. Stranger things have happened in the whirligig of politics.

### **Lincoln's Nomination, June 1858**

Lincoln's leadership in the Republican party of Illinois was strong, too strong for that party to stand aside for Douglas in 1858. Lincoln had received 110 votes for the vice-presidency in the Republican National Convention at Pittsburgh in 1856. In 1855, he lacked but four votes of being elected United States Senator, when for organization harmony, he yielded and threw his support to Trumbull, an Anti-Nebraska Democrat. In debates with Douglas at Springfield and Peoria in 1856 and 1857 he had proved his ability as an orator to stand up and combat "the great Douglas" on the stump. He had built up a large personal following among the Republicans of the state and his ambition to be the candidate of the Republicans to oppose Douglas in 1858 was not to be denied.

Lincoln and other Republican leaders in Illinois refused to listen to the suggestions of eastern Republicans. They naturally saw that with the Democratic National administration openly opposing Douglas in Illinois, now was the time to advance the cause of the new Republican party by electing a Republican to the senate to succeed Douglas.

June 16, 1858, the Republican State Convention met in Springfield and unanimously nominated Lincoln as "their first and only choice" for United States senator.

### **Lincoln's "House Divided Against Itself" Speech**

Lincoln knew that he would be nominated. After the nomination he appeared before the convention and delivered a most carefully prepared address, one of the greatest of his career.

It was difficult for the American people to give up the idea that the slavery question could forever be compromised, but in his speech Lincoln gave the first warning note from an American statesman that the issue was one that could not always be compromised. In this speech Lincoln said:

"It (slavery agitation) will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. '*A house divided against itself can not stand.*' I believe this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. *It will become all one thing or all the other.*" Advised by his political friends to omit the above quotation from his speech as bad policy, Lincoln said: "Friends, this thing



has been retarded long enough. The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered and if it is decreed that I shall go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth; let me die in the advocacy of what is right."

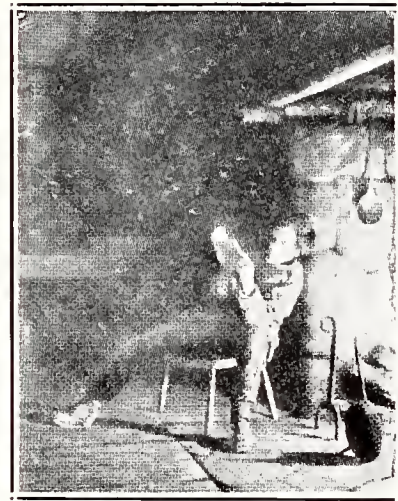
Stephen A. Douglas believed, as Clay and Webster had believed, that the slavery question could be compromised. He believed that his policy of non-intervention by the national government would result in peace and union. Lincoln studying the question far more deeply, with a prophet's vision foretold that the union could not endure permanently half slave and half free. The diverse opinions of these great men arose from the fact that Lincoln considered slavery a moral problem as well as a political problem. Douglas considered slavery only as a political problem. He said repeatedly, "I do not care whether slavery is voted up or down." In his speech at Quincy Lincoln said, "The Republican party believes that slavery is a moral, a social and a political evil." Lincoln's meditative philosophical mind knew that at the bottom the slavery question was a moral question and that moral principles can not be compromised away by votes in congress. As early as 1855 in a letter he had said, "The problem is too mighty for me. May God in his wisdom superintend the solution." On October 25, 1858, William E. Seward of New York, the recognized leader of the Republican party, in a speech at Rochester said, "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation." Thus more than four months after Lincoln had made his Springfield speech stating that this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free, Seward in the east follows with his "irrepressible conflict" speech. The period of 1850 to 1860 brought to end the passing of superficial compromises, and introduced the struggle of civil war to decide whether this government should be all slave or all free.

### **The Dred Scott Decision**

March 6, 1857, two days after Buchanan's inauguration, the Supreme Court gave out the Dred Scott decision. Dred Scott was a negro slave whose owner had taken him to Illinois and later to Minnesota. The negro brought suit for his freedom on the ground that slavery was barred in Illinois by the Ordinance of

1787, and in Minnesota by the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Chief Justice Taney, a southern man, read the decision, which consisted of several points, as follows: First, Dred Scott was still a slave. Second, Negroes were not citizens, and could not have the rights and privileges of citizens under the Constitution of the United States. Third, the right to property in slaves is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. Nothing in the Constitution gives Congress a greater power over slave property than any other kind of property, therefore, Fourth, The Missouri Compromise of 1820, prohibiting slavery north of 36° 30' is unconstitutional and void. Fifth, Congress cannot prohibit slavery in the Territories, which are the property of the general government. Sixth, Congress is bound to protect slavery in the



**The Boy Lincoln**

Territories. Seventh, A plain inference from the decision was that a territorial legislature could not prohibit slavery within its limits. Eighth, Another inference was that even a state legislature could not prohibit slavery within its borders, for how could a state legislature do that which the National Congress was barred from doing by the Constitution.

In this decision Chief Justice Taney and the majority of the supreme court voting with him were actuated, no doubt, by the high motive of attempting to settle the slavery question, maintain peace and preserve the Union. But as in spite of compromises anti-slavery agitation became more intense, the Dred Scott decision was followed by increased resolution in the North to limit slavery. Neither the compromisers nor the court had the profound grasp of the slavery question as

stated by Lincoln when he said, "The union cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free." But the most radical Southern pro-slavery constitutional theory of Calhoun had now been fixed upon the country by a supreme court decision. Lincoln and the Republicans did not accept the supreme court's decision as final.

### **Lincoln, Douglas and the Dred Scott Decision**

The Dred Scott decision bore heavily against the policies of both Lincoln and Douglas. Lincoln was a leader of the Republican party. The fundamental platform of that party was the prohibition of slavery in the Territories by Congress. But the supreme court of the United States now had decided that Congress cannot constitutionally prohibit slavery in the territories. Evidently Lincoln would have to abandon the fundamental platform of his party or condemn the supreme court's decision. What would he do?

Douglas, in his Kansas-Nebraska bill, passed in 1854, had made it his platform to let the people of the Territories decide for themselves for or against slavery in their territories. But the plain inference of the supreme court decision in the Dred Scott case, was that the people of the territory could not prohibit slavery in their own territory. Evidently Douglas, too, would have to abandon his "great principle of popular sovereignty," or oppose the full intent of the decision of the supreme court.

An interesting feature of the Lincoln-Douglas debates is the fun each had in attempting to make the other appear to be attacking the supreme court, and the corresponding difficulty each had in attempting to defend himself. The position of Douglas was most difficult, because, in a time of extreme agitation, it was necessary for him to construct a policy which would win for him the support of both north and south—the north to maintain his position in the Senate from Illinois and the south if he was to be the candidate of a united Democratic party for the presidency in 1860. Before a less able opponent than Lincoln, Douglas may have succeeded. Lincoln's second question in the great debate at Freeport made it impossible for Douglas to secure the support of both. The Dred Scott decision was a big factor in the debates.

### **Early Lincoln-Douglas Debates**

From 1854 to 1858 Abraham Lincoln and Senator Douglas held several debates. Lincoln was eternally prodding Douglas about the latter's "squatter sovereignty" doctrine and his repeal of the Missouri Compromise which opened the territories north of 36° 30' to the possible extension of slavery. Douglas made many speeches in Illinois during this period defending himself and his policies. Frequently Lincoln was present to hear Douglas. When Douglas closed, the crowd would call for Lincoln, who would reply to Douglas then, or a few hours later. October 16, 1854, they spoke at Peoria. State Fair week Douglas spoke in the State House and Lincoln answered him in a three and one-half hours' speech. The *Chicago Daily Journal*, July 27, says: "Every canvass for the last twenty years has found these champions of their respective parties side by side with each other, and often addressing the same audience, and Mr. Lincoln has never asked any favor of his adversary. He does not now. Douglas showed the white feather." The last remark was made because Douglas agreed to only seven debates, instead of debating throughout the campaign as Lincoln desired.

On July 9, 1858, Douglas was given a great reception in Chicago and made an elaborate speech. Lincoln was present and the next evening he addressed an immense crowd in reply to Douglas. Lincoln was following "in the wake of Douglas" says the *New York Herald*, and adds, "Whenever reference is made by either to the other, it is in the kindest, most courteous and dignified manner."

Rothschild, in his "Lincoln, Master of Men," says that the first debate between Lincoln and Douglas was held in 1839. This discussion was the result of numerous "arguments" between the Democratic and Whig groups and ended in a more or less formal debate on the merits of the two parties between Lincoln and Douglas.

### **Douglas's Triumphal Tour**

Senator Douglas set out from Chicago to tour the state. He traveled on a special train in which was a flat car mounting a small cannon. As the train approached a town salutes were fired. A large banner announced "S. A. Douglas, the Champion of Popular Sovereignty." At Bloomington Douglas spoke more than two hours. Lincoln was present, but declined to speak as he said it would be



improper for him to address a meeting called by Judge Douglas's friends. Next Douglas spoke at Springfield and although it rained hard all day, an immense crowd heard him. One special train of twelve coaches brought a big Douglas delegation from the south of Springfield. In this speech Douglas recalled his reception in 1854. "Then I could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of my own effigies." Lincoln was in Springfield at this time and addressed a public meeting in the state house in the evening, in reply to Douglas. Both Douglas and Lincoln gave out lists of dates of public meetings during July and most of August, Lincoln's meeting usually the next day after the Douglas meeting. A newspaper of the time said: "Wherever the Little Giant happens to be, Abe is sure to turn up and be a thorn in his side."

### Lincoln Wants an Audience

Douglas papers accused Lincoln of violation of the ethics of campaigning and speaking to the Douglas crowds. Lincoln did this, they said, because he couldn't otherwise get a crowd to hear him. "A candidate unable to get a crowd to hear him." "The cringing, crawling creature is hanging at the outskirts of the Douglas crowds begging the people to come and hear him." "Long Abe," as he was called, followed Douglas at Clinton. The *Chicago Times* suggested that Lincoln's managers arrange for him to travel with a circus then touring the state, in this way to secure crowds to hear the Republican candidate. The same paper states that Lincoln rode to Monticello on the Douglas train.

"At Sullivan, through his (Lincoln's) uncourteous behavior, a riot almost resulted," says the *Illinois State Register*, a Douglas paper.

### Lincoln Challenges Douglas to Debate

July 24th Lincoln wrote Senator Douglas, asking him if it would be agreeable to him to make an arrangement "for you and myself to divide time and address the same audiences in the campaign." Senator Douglas replied the next day, stating that while his campaign had been planned, yet in order to accommodate Mr. Lincoln as far as it was in his power, he would arrange to debate with Lincoln in one place in each of the Congressional Districts, except the second and sixth where each had

spoken. Douglas then named Freeport, Ottawa, Galesburg, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro, and Charleston, if agreeable to Mr. Lincoln.

Douglas newspapers again asserted that Lincoln's challenge came because he couldn't get people out to hear him. The *Peoria Transcript* said, "If Mr. Lincoln accepts the seven joint debates, he will get enough of debate and discomfiture to last him the rest of his life."

### The Freeport Journal

Discussing the challenge and the reply of Senator Douglas, the *Freeport Journal* says, "Though this is a half-way evasion of the challenge, we are glad that we in Freeport, at least, are to have the opportunity to hear these two gentlemen from the same stand. We bespeak for them the largest gathering ever known here, and we are willing to let the people judge for themselves as to who shall be their choice, after a fair hearing of them both in person." The *Illinois State Register* scouted the idea that Douglas was afraid to meet Lincoln. It says: "The idea that the man who has crossed blades in the senate with the strongest intellects in the country, who has as the champion of Democratic principles in the senatorial arena, routed all opposition, that such a man dreads to encounter A. Lincoln is an absurdity that can be uttered by his organs only with a gastly phiz."

July 29th, Lincoln wrote Douglas accepting the agreement to speak at the seven points selected by the Senator. In that letter Lincoln added a P. S. stating, "I shall be at no more of your exclusive meetings." Douglas replied July 30th, suggesting the dates of the seven debates, agreeing, as suggested by Lincoln, that they should alternately open and close the discussions, adding: "I will speak at Ottawa one hour, you can reply, occupying one hour and a half, and I will follow for half an hour. At Freeport, you shall open the discussion and speak an hour; I will follow for one hour and a half, and then you can reply for half an hour; we will alternate in like manner in each successive place." July 31st Lincoln wrote Douglas accepting places, times and terms for the joint discussions, noting the advantage Douglas had secured for himself in securing four openings and closes to Lincoln's three. In just three weeks the greatest political discussion in history of America began at Ottawa, August 21st.

### **The Seven Debates**

Following is a list of the seven debates of 1858:

Ottawa, LaSalle County, August 21.  
*Freeport, Stephenson County, August 27.*  
 Jonesboro, Union County, September 15.  
 Charleston, Coles County, September 18.  
 Galesburg, Knox County, October 7.  
 Quincy, Adams County, October 13.  
 Alton, Madison County, October 15.

Of the seven debates, all historians agree that the Freeport debate was the climax of the series. "It marked an era in American History," says James G. Blaine in his "Twenty Years in Congress." It is universally conceded that the Freeport debate made Douglas senator in 1858, but made Lincoln president in 1860, and thereon followed secession, civil war, the Emancipation of four million negro slaves, the surrender of Lee at Appomattox in 1865, the end of states rights, nullification and secession, and the preservation of the union. Dr. James Albert Woodburn, head of the Department of History in the University of Indiana, one of America's foremost historians, says: "It is not too much to say that the Lincoln-Douglas debates made Lincoln president."

### **Lincoln and Douglas Friendly**

That men who had opposed each other for twenty years, and who were now opposing each other in a campaign of great intensity, when feeling was everywhere running high, should treat each other with almost unfailing courtesy, and that each should say of the other complimentary remarks, is most remarkable. It is a tribute to the bigness of the two men, and to their sense of good sportsmanship in the great debates.

In his rejoinder to Senator Douglas at Freeport, Lincoln said, "It will readily occur to you that I can not, in half an hour, notice all the things that so able a man as Judge Douglas can say in an hour and a half." In his opening speech of the campaign in Chicago, Douglas said of his opponent, Lincoln, "I have known personally and intimately, for about a quarter of a century the worthy gentleman who has been nominated for my place, and I will say that I regard him as a kind and amiable gentleman, a good citizen and an honorable opponent." Upon hearing that Lincoln was to be his opponent for re-election to the senate, Douglas said to Forney in Washington, "I shall have my

hands full. He is the strong man of his party, full of wit, facts, dates, and the best stump speaker, with his droll ways and dry jokes, in the west. He is as honest as he is shrewd, and if I beat him, my victory will be hardly won."

Lincoln realized that Douglas was a powerful opponent, and in one of his Springfield speeches said:

"Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the president of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post offices, land offices, marshalls-ships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships, and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphant entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor.

"On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be president. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages all, taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principles alone."

Hon. W. T. Davidson in an address in Freeport, August 27, 1908, quoted the following as remarks made by Lincoln in his Ottawa speech in regard to Douglas:

"Twenty-two years ago Judge Douglas and I became acquainted. We were both young men. Even then we were both ambitious—I perhaps quite as much as he—with me the race of ambition has been a failure, a flat failure; with him it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation and is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached. I would rather stand upon that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever bedecked a monarch's brow."

After the debates when Douglas had returned victorious to Washington, Senator Wilson asked Douglas his opinion of Lincoln. Douglas replied, "Lincoln is an able and honest man, one of the ablest men of the



nation. I have been in Congress sixteen years and there is not a man in the Senate I would not rather encounter in debate."

The reader of the debates must understand that Lincoln and Douglas used forcible language in regard to each other's opinions and principles, but each made the fine, gentlemanly distinction between abuse of a man's ideas or policy, and abuse of a man personally. These debates are most excellent examples of how seriously and vigorously two men may oppose each other's policies, and treat each other with courtesy and respect.

### **An Englishman's Opinion of Lincoln**

Lord Charnwood, an English author, in his "Life of Abraham Lincoln," says of Lincoln's oratory: "But the greatest gift of the orator he did possess; the personality behind the words was felt." To support this statement the English author quotes the editor of a great paper who heard Lincoln at Peoria: "Beyond and above all skill was the overwhelming conviction imposed upon the audience that the speaker himself was charged with an irresistible and inspiring duty to his fellowmen."

In his speech at Springfield, accepting the Republican nomination for the Senate, Lincoln said: "In my opinion it (the agitation against slavery) will not cease till a crisis has been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.'" In reply to his friend who questioned the policy of the above sentences, Lincoln said: "I would rather be defeated with this expression in my speech, and uphold and discuss it before the people, than be victorious without it." Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, said: "It will make you president." But most of his party leaders were against it. To these Lincoln said: "Friends, this thing has been retarded long enough. The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered; and if it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth; let me die in the advocacy of what is right."

Lord Charnwood, in his book "Abraham Lincoln," says of the part that Lincoln played in the Lincoln-Douglas debates: "Lincoln had performed what, apart from results was a work of intellectual merit beyond the com-

pass of any American statesman since Hamilton."

Morse says, page 123, "So long ago as August 15, 1855, he (Lincoln) had closed a letter with this paragraph: 'Our problem now is, Can we, as a nation continue together permanently, forever, half slave and half free? The problem is too mighty for me. May God in his mercy superintend the solution.'"

### **Prof. Robert Allyn on Lincoln**

"In the Autumn of 1859, I was residing in Cincinnati and heard the late Stephen A. Douglas speak twice in that city or vicinity, Mr. Lincoln speak once, from the steps of the Burnet House, I believe. I was impressed greatly with the contrast between them. Mr. Douglas was aggressive, confident in himself, and evidently bent on crushing his opponent. Mr. Lincoln seemed at first too modest and undemonstrative. But as he went on and forgot himself, and apparently his party, in his interest in grand principles, he rose in dignity, till he seemed more the embodiment of Justice, Freedom and Love of Humanity, than a mere man. He was lost in the grandeur of the cause, and stood unselfishly for the rights of all men, in all ages. And I have often thought that this idea of him, there gathered by me, best expresses the essence of his character—an inspired disregard of personal interest, and a complete self-surrender of everything to the welfare of all men, especially the humblest."

### **Lincoln a Poor Man in 1858**

When Lincoln faced the campaign of 1858 against Douglas he was not a rich man. To give up his law practice, spend money for transportation and contribute to the campaign fund almost bankrupted him. But his personal ambition, and his serious determination to oppose the extension of slavery, caused him to stake everything in the campaign.

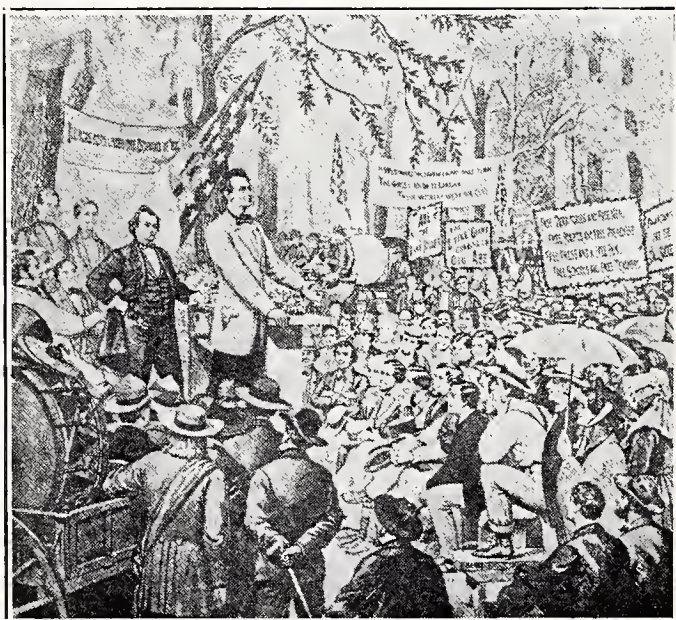
During the campaign Lincoln traveled incessantly to and fro delivering speeches in unbroken succession during about one hundred of the hot days of the western summer.

When the state committee asked him for a contribution to the campaign fund of 1858, Lincoln replied, "I am willing to pay according to my ability. I have been on expense so long, without earning anything, that I am absolutely without money now for even household expenses. Still if you can put in \$250 for me, I will allow it when you and I settle the private matter between us."



## *The Lincoln-Douglas Debate in Freeport, Ill., August 27, 1858.*

*"It may be said of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, that the ablest men of the nation were the champions, that the great prairies were the audience room, that the whole American people were the audience, that the Constitution of the United States was the platform, and upon the elucidation and solution of the problems involved depended the fate of a continent."*—HON. CLARK E. CARR.



**A Lincoln-Douglas Debate**

Friday, August 27, 1858, still stands as the biggest day in the history of Freeport. It was the biggest day in the matter of crowds, for 15,000 people met to hear "Honest Abe" Lincoln and the "Little Giant" debate the issues of their day. It was Freeport's biggest day in interest, excitement and enthusiasm as the vast crowds surged through the streets. It was Freeport's biggest day historically, for "the fate of the nation was decided in Freeport that day," a day that compares in historical significance with the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, the signing of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia in 1776, the making of the Constitution in 1787, and the Declaration of War by the American congress against Germany in 1917. The boulder that marks the site of the great Freeport debate has more than local interest; it belongs to the whole country and is one of the Republic's national historic monuments.

Friday, August 27, at Freeport was a chilly day, threatening rain. But the crowds came from all directions to hear the great debate,

the second of the series between Lincoln and Douglas. At nine o'clock the Carroll County delegations arrived with a brass band and banners. An hour later a special train of twelve cars came in from Dixon. Mr. Lincoln arrived on this train and was met at the station by two thousand citizens of Stephenson County. They met him with tremendous cheering and the multitude, headed by a band, marched to the Brewster Hotel where Hon. Thomas J. Turner delivered the welcome address. A special train of sixteen cars, carrying over one thousand persons, came in from Rockford, with a banner, "Winnebago County for Old Abe." They swept up Stephenson Street to the hotel and yelled till Lincoln came out and made a brief speech. A train of eight cars brought a crowd from Galena and Lincoln again had to appear on the balcony at the Brewster. Douglas reached Freeport Thursday evening and was escorted to the Brewster by a torchlight procession. The New York *Evening Post's* special correspondent said the crowd was larger than at Ottawa. "All prairiedom has broken loose. Everywhere are banners, cotton mottoes and small flags. The streets are black with people. The weather is cool and cloudy. Mr. Douglas was greeted last evening by a turnout of torches, salutes of artillery and a stunning illumination of the hotel."

A Republican Chicago newspaper said there were seventy-five in the torchlight procession and the Missouri *Republican* (Democrat) said there were one thousand.

The Freeport *Journal* (September 21, 1858), said: "The people began coming the day before. The crowd was estimated at from ten thousand to twenty thousand. Douglas was met at the depot Thursday evening and made a brief speech at the Brewster Hotel. Lincoln arrived from the south at ten o'clock and was met at the train by an immense assemblage of Republicans. All way along the procession to the Brewster Hotel he was received with



the most unbounded enthusiasm. It was plainly evident that the great majority of the people had no sympathy with the party that endorsed the Dred Scott decision of its unprincipled leader."

It had been planned to take Douglas to the speaking place in a handsome carriage. Lincoln's men, hearing of this, decided to produce a contrast, explained as follows from the recollection of Gen. Smith D. Atkins: "Learning that it was the intention to convey the Democratic champion in a splendid equipage from Mr. Brawley's residence to the place of speaking, the Republican committee sent out into Lancaster township for Uncle John Wolfe to come to Freeport with his splendid team of six enormous horses and his Conestoga wagon in which he had recently driven from Pennsylvania. Lincoln stoutly protested against the plan, but finally consented. Amid the cheers of Republicans and Democrats alike, he climbed into the wagon, followed by a dozen of his enthusiastic supporters from the farming contingent and was drawn to the place of speaking. The driver of the team rode the "nigh" wheel horse and drove the six horses with a single rein." When Douglas was informed of Lincoln's conveyance, he decided to abandon the fine carriage and the dapple grays and walked to the speaker's platform with Colonel Mitchell.

### **Description of Douglas and Lincoln**

The correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* gave the following description of Douglas and Lincoln:

"Two men presenting wider contrasts could hardly be found as representative of the two great political parties. Everybody knows Douglas, a short, thick-set, burly man, with large round head, heavy hair, dark complexion, and fierce bulldog bark. Strong in his own real power, and skilled in a thousand conflicts in all the strategy of a hand to hand or a general fight. Of towering ambition, restless in his desire for notoriety, proud, defiant, arrogant, unscrupulous, 'Little Doug' ascended the platform and looked out impudently and carelessly on the immense throng which surged and struggled before him. A native of Vermont, reared on soil where no slave ever trod, trained to hard manual labor and schooled in hardships, he came to Illinois a teacher, and from one post to another had risen to his present eminence."

"The other, Lincoln, is a native of Kentucky and of poor white parentage, and from his

cradle he has felt the blighting influence and cruel shadow which rendered labor dishonorable. Reared in poverty and the humblest aspirations, he came to Illinois and began his career of honorable toil. At first a laborer, splitting rails for a living, deficient in education, and applying himself even to the rudiments of knowledge he, too, felt the expanding power of manhood and began to achieve the greatness to which he had succeeded. With great difficulty, struggling through the tedious formularies of legal lore, he was admitted to the bar and rapidly made his way to the front ranks of his profession. He has been always in every relation to life, the pure and honest man. Built on the Kentucky type, he is very tall, slender and angular, awkward, even in gait and attitude. His face is sharp, large featured and unprepossessing. His eyes are deep set, under heavy brows; his forehead is high and retreating and his hair is dark and heavy. In repose, 'Long Abe's' appearance is not comely. But stir him up and the fire of his genius plays on every feature. His eye glows and sparkles, every lineament, now so ill-formed, grows radiant and expressive, and you have before you a man of rare power and of strong magnetic influence. He is clear, concise and logical; his language is eloquent and at perfect command. He is altogether a more fluent speaker than Douglas and in all the arts of debate fully his equal."

A description of Lincoln in the *Vincennes Sun*, July 3, 1858, is as follows: "Lincoln is popular—the strongest man the opposition have, is nearly fifty years old, six feet two, slightly stoop-shouldered, very muscular and powerful, dark eyes, a quizzical, pleasant, raw-boned face, tells a story better than anybody else, is a good lawyer, and is what the world calls a devilish good fellow."

An eye witness of the Freeport debate gives the following description of the two men: "Lincoln was tall and ungainly, with a lean face. Homely and sorrowful looking, while Douglas was short and fat, easy of manner and his full face seemed to be that of a man whose life had been one of success and sunshine. Douglas was dressed in what might have been called plantation style. He was richly dressed. He wore a ruffled shirt, a dark blue coat closed with shiny buttons, light trousers and shiny shoes, with a wide brimmed soft hat, like that still worn by the prosperous politicians of southern Illinois. He made a picture fitted for the stage."

Lincoln wore an old stove-pipe hat with a coarse looking coat with sleeves far too short, and baggy trousers, so short that they showed his rough boots.

The *Chicago Times* said, October 1, 1858: "It will be remembered that after Lincoln had been listened to attentively, and when Douglas went upon the stand, some villian threw at Douglas a melon, hitting him upon one shoulder. Nor was that the only indecent act perpetrated by the enemies of Democracy at that place. From that day to this the ruffianism of Black Republicanism has steadily increased."

Mr. Ingalls Carleton, one of the pioneers of Freeport who witnessed the great debate, says that on Friday A. M. the people crowded the street in front of the Brewster Hotel and yelled for both Douglas and Lincoln. Finally both Lincoln and Douglas appeared on the balcony, arm in arm, and bowed to the people again and again. At the debate each side thought its man did the best, but a majority thought Lincoln had Douglas on the hip."

### A Lincoln-Douglas Crowd

A special correspondent of the *New York Post* sent his paper the following description of a Lincoln-Douglas debate crowd:

"It is astonishing how deep an interest in politics this people take. Over long weary miles of hot and dusty prairie the processions of eager partisans came—on foot, on horseback, in wagons drawn by horses or mules; men, women and children, old and young; the half sick, just out of the last 'shake'; children in arms, infants at the maternal fount, pushing on in clouds of dust and beneath the blazing sun; settling down at the town where the meeting is, with hardly a chance for sitting, and even less opportunity for eating, waiting in anxious groups for hours at the places of speaking, talking, discussing, litigious, vociferous, while the war artillery, the music of the bands, the waving of banners, the huzzahs of the crowds, as delegation after delegation appears; the cry of the peddlers vending all sorts of ware, from an unfallible cure of 'agur' to a monster watermelon in slices to suit purchasers, combine to render the occasion one scene of confusion and commotion. The hour of one arrives and a perfect rush is made for the grounds; a column of dust is rising to the heavens and fairly deluging those who are hurrying on through it. Then the speakers come with flags, and banners, and music, surrounded by cheering partisans.

Their arrival at the ground and immediate approach to the stand is the signal for shouts that rend the heavens. They are introduced to the audience amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheers; they are interrupted by frequent applause; and they sit down finally amid the same uproarious demonstration. The audience sit or stand patiently throughout, and, as the last word is spoken, make a break for their homes, first hunting up lost members of their families, getting their scattered wagon-loads together, and, as the daylight fades away, entering again upon the broad prairies, and slowly picking their way back to the place of beginning."

### Ho! For Freeport

Chicago's interest in the Freeport debate is indicated by the following announcement in the *Chicago Press and Tribune* the day before the great contest:

"The usual fare from Chicago to Freeport and return is \$7.20. But excursion tickets will be sold to those who wish to leave this evening or tomorrow morning for the Lincoln and Douglas meeting at Freeport tomorrow for \$4.35, or sixty per cent of the usual fare. By starting on the 9:30 train tomorrow morning, you reach Freeport at 3 P. M., an hour after the speaking commences. All should, therefore, leave by tonight's train, which starts from the Wells Street depot, North Side, at 45 minutes after 10 o'clock. Comfortable sleeping cars will be put on, and all can reach Freeport in season for the whole fun, without losing any time. Tickets for the excursion will be sold at the Wells Street Galena passenger depot alone."

### The Freeport Journal

The *Freeport Journal*, a weekly paper published September 2, 1858, published the following article in regard to the great debate the previous Friday:

"*The discussion between Lincoln and Douglas, at Freeport, August 27, 1858. A tremendous crowd present! Douglas abuses the Republicans! Gets paid off in his own coin—and gets mad about it! Lincoln too much for him!*"

"On Friday last this city witnessed one of the largest outpourings of the masses ever known in Northern Illinois. They commenced coming the day before upon the regular trains, and from that time till noon on Friday by regular trains and extra trains from every direction, and by teams from this and adjoining counties the tide kept flowing in. Some of



the trains came in with eighteen passenger cars completely jammed full. The crowd in attendance is variously estimated. It could not have been less than 10,000, and it probably did exceed 20,000 people.

"At two o'clock the speaking commenced, Mr. Lincoln being introduced by Hon. T. J. Turner, Moderator, on the part of the Republicans."

### **E. B. Washburne Writes of Freeport Lincoln-Douglas Debate**

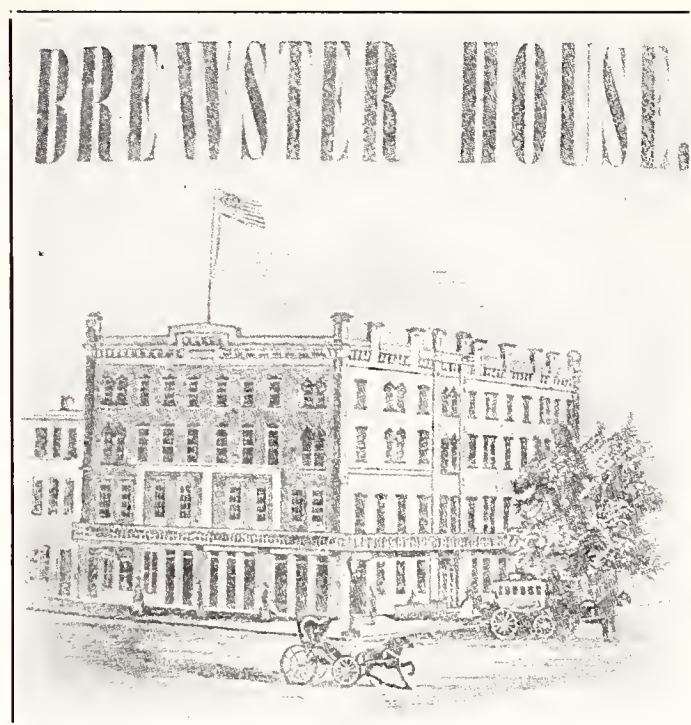
E. B. Washburne, of Galena, congressman from the Freeport district, writing in the *North American Review*, October Number, 1885, says:

"I attended every one of the joint discussions (between Lincoln and Douglas). I was at Freeport in my congressional district, which was the bulwark of Republicans in the state. The Freeport discussion held in August. The day was bright, but the wind sweeping down the prairies gave us a chilly afternoon for an out-of-door gathering. In company with a large number of Galena people we reached Freeport by train about 10 o'clock in the morning. Mr. Lincoln was at the Brewster House, surrounded all the forenoon by sturdy Republicans, who had come long distances not only to hear him speak, to see him and it was esteemed the greatest privilege to shake hands with 'Honest Old Abe.' He had a kind word or some droll remark for everyone, and it is safe to say that no one who spoke to him that day will ever have the interview effaced from memory."

### **Douglas, the Great Patriot of 1861**

The verdict of history will always be that Stephen A. Douglas was always a loyal patriot, and never more loyal to his country than in 1861. When Lincoln was about to be inaugurated President of the United States, March 4, 1861, Douglas stood near by. When Lincoln was introduced, and looked around for a place to deposit his hat, Senator Douglas stepped forward, took it and held it—a most significant act, indicating that the most powerful man of the north in this crisis was to be loyal to the man who had defeated him for the Presidency a few months before.

The very day that Fort Sumter was fired on, Senator Douglas went to the White House for an interview with President Lincoln. In this interview Douglas pledged his support to Lincoln in his efforts to preserve the Union. From this conference Douglas went direct to



**Brewster House in 1858**

the office of the associated press and through that organization sent a telegram to all the newspapers of the north that he had pledged to the President his most active and earnest co-operation in putting down the rebellion and saving the Union. When it is recalled that a few months before, 1,376,957 men had cast their votes for Douglas for president, and that probably no leader was ever followed by more devoted adherents, this was one of the most potential events of the civil war. This dramatic act of Douglas aroused a united north to put down rebellion. At once Douglas began addressing great mass meetings urging his supporters to battle.

### **Douglas at Springfield and Chicago**

At Springfield, April 25, in the State house, Douglas addressed the state legislature in joint session. The great hall was crowded to the doors. He said, "So long as the hope of peace remained, I pleaded and implored for compromise. Now that all else has failed, there is but one course left, to rally as one man to the flag of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton and Franklin."

Horace White says of Douglas on this occasion: "I heard Mr. Douglas deliver his speech to the members of the Illinois legislature April 25, 1861, in the gathering tumult of arms. It was like a blast of thunder. I do not think it possible for a human being to produce a more prodigious effect with spoken words. The veins of his neck and his forehead



were swollen with passion, and the perspiration ran down his face in streams. His voice had recovered its clearness from the strain of the previous year, and was frequently broken with emotion. The amazing force that he threw into his words: 'When hostile armies are marching under new and odious banners against the government of our country, the shortest way to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparation for war,' seemed to shake the whole building. That speech hushed the breath of treason in every corner of the state."

Addressing a great mass meeting in the "wigwam" in Chicago, Senator Douglas said: "There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States, or against it. There are no neutrals in this war, only patriots and traitors. Illinois has a proud position—united, firm, determined never to permit the government to be destroyed. I express to you my conviction before God that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally around the flag of his country." Hon. Clark E. Carr, in his biography of Douglas, says: "As he stood before that vast assemblage in Chicago, Senator Douglas was the mightiest and most potential figure in the galaxy of American statesmen."

A few days later, June 3, 1861, Douglas died at his home in Chicago, at the age of forty-eight. His last words, a message to his sons, were: "Tell them to obey the laws and support the constitution of the United States."

Douglas, the "Little Giant," was dead, but more than any other man he had united the north behind his great rival who was to save the Union they both loved.

### **Douglas Attacked by Southern Leaders**

Douglas's answer to Lincoln's second question at Freeport brought upon him severe attacks by the radical southern leaders. This was exactly the result anticipated by Lincoln when he framed that second question. This southern opposition, together with the bitter fight on Douglas by the Buchanan administration, plunged the "Little Giant" into a hard battle immediately on his return to the Senate after the debates in Illinois.

Senator Douglas had gone as far as any northern man could go to compromise on the slavery question, conciliate the antagonism of the two sections, and preserve the Union. The southern leaders now threw him down because he would not go all the way with them in their determination to make slavery and slave

property legal, in all the territories and states of the Union.

Southern senators denounced him openly. Prof. A. C. Cole, formerly Professor of American History in the University of Illinois, now of Ohio State University, says: "The Freeport doctrine had undermined his (Douglas's) popularity in the slave states. \* \* \* Upon his arrival in Washington, the Illinoisian found that the Democratic congressional caucus at Buchanan's instigation, had deposed him from the chairmanship of the committee on territories."

Von Holst, Volume VI, page 327, quoting Senator Iverson of Georgia, as follows: "Even Illinois is no exception, for Douglas's doctrine opposes just as insurmountable a barrier to the extension of slavery as those of the Republicans."

Von Holst, Volume VI, page 348—Senator Brown speaking for the southern Democrats, said in the Senate, February 25, 1859: "As a presidential candidate Douglas should give an explanation of the doctrine he had announced at Freeport; \* \* \* the re-election of Douglas to the Senate was not the end of the play of the Lincoln-Douglas campaign, but only its first act."

The southern senators maintained that the constitution and the Dred Scott decision guaranteed to them the protection of their right to hold slaves in a territory of the United States. Douglas's answer to Lincoln's second question at Freeport held that a territory could exclude slavery by refusing to protect it, a clear conflict between the southern leaders and Douglas, which Lincoln evidently foresaw, when against the objections of his friends, he insisted on asking that question at Freeport.

Douglas replied boldly to such southern leaders in the senate as Brown, Iverson and Davis. He said, referring to the Democratic party:

"If the north and the south cannot come to a common ground on the slavery question, the sooner we know it the better. If you repudiate the doctrine of no-intervention and form a slave code by an act of congress (to force slavery in a territory) when the people of the territory refuse it, you must step off the Democratic platform." During the debate the news came that the Kansas legislature had passed a law which declared slavery abolished. Douglas's reply was, therefore, irrefutable: "Now is the time, and here the cause if you intend to intervene."



Senator Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, May 22, 1860:

"We accuse him for this, to-wit: That having bargained with us upon a point upon which we were at issue, that it should be considered a judicial point; that he would abide by the decision and consider it a doctrine of the party; that having said that to us here in the Senate, he went home, and under the stress of a local election, *his knees gave way*; his whole person trembled. His adversary stood upon principle and was beaten; and lo! he is the candidate of a mighty party for the presidency of the United States. The senator from Illinois faltered. He got the prize for which he faltered; but lo! the grand prize of his ambition today slips from his grasp because of his faltering in his former contest, and his success in the canvass for the senate, purchased for an ignoble price, has cost him the loss of the presidency of the United States."—Bouton, page 273.

In this hard forensic battle Douglas stood out valiantly against the plan of the south to force the United States government to protect slavery in the free territories and states. He maintained to the last his principle that the people of the territories should decide the slavery question for themselves. But his doctrine announced at Freeport August 27, 1858, in reply to Lincoln's second question had lost him the southern support. He would never be president.

### **Douglas Defeats Lincoln for Senatorship**

When at the close of the campaign the legislature met at Springfield to elect a United States Senator, it was found that Douglas had a majority of eight votes over Lincoln. But Lincoln had won a popular victory, the Republican state ticket being elected by 126,084 votes to 121,940 for the Douglas state ticket, with 5,091 for the Buchanan candidates.

### **Douglas's Advantage in 1858**

Although Lincoln and Douglas were campaigning over the state, the election of Senator was to be by the state legislature. Douglas had an advantage over Lincoln because of twelve state senators hold over, eight were Democrats. A legislative apportionment had not been made since 1850, another advantage for Douglas, because the increase in population had been much greater in northern than in southern Illinois

and Lincoln's great strength was in the northern part of the state.

### **Lincoln Disappointed**

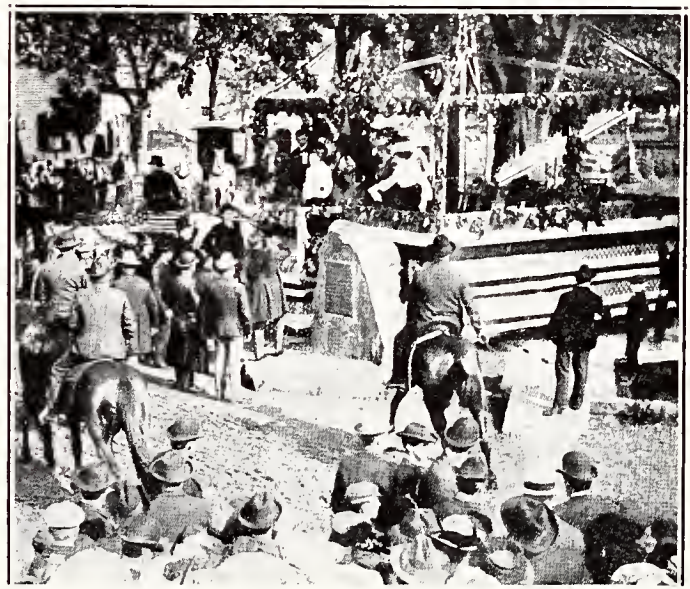
After the Lincoln-Douglas debates were over and Douglas had won the senatorship, Lincoln was disappointed. Morse in his "Abraham Lincoln," page 149, says: "The immediate result of the campaign was the triumph of Douglas, who had certainly made not only a very able and brilliant but a splendidly gallant fight, with Republicans assailing him in front and the (Democratic) administrationists in the rear. Lincoln was disappointed. But he bore his defeat with his resolute equanimity. He said that he felt like the boy that stumped his toe—'It hurt too bad to laugh, and he was too big to cry.' "

Arnold, who opposed his opinions, said of Douglas after his election in 1858: "There is on the whole, hardly any greater personal triumph in history of American politics than his re-election."

In this campaign Douglas had made one hundred and thirty speeches and expended \$80,000 against Lincoln's \$1,000.

### **Lincoln Becomes a National Figure**

Before the Lincoln-Douglas debates Lincoln was little known outside of Illinois. During the debates he attracted the attention of all the great newspapers of the country. At the close of these debates he had become a national figure. As a result he was invited to deliver public addresses in Ohio at Columbus and Cincinnati, in New York, where he made



**Dedication of Boulder by President  
Roosevelt, June 3, 1903**



his celebrated Cooper Institute speech, and in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. It was this fact, that the Lincoln-Douglas debates had made Lincoln nationally known, that more than anything else, secured for him the nomination for the presidency of the Republican party in 1860.

As a result of Lincoln's national popularity achieved in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and especially in the Freeport debates, Lincoln was nominated for the presidency by the National Republican Convention in Chicago in 1860, and was elected president.

The *Indiana Journal*, November 5, 1858: "Such a political contest was never before witnessed in the United States."

The *Indiana Sentinel*: "The Washington Union, the Charleston Mercury, the Mobile Register, the Columbus (Georgia) Times, the Mississippiian, and one or two other (pro-slavery) newspapers have denounced Judge Douglas's Freeport speech."

The *Commercial Register*, Mansfield, Ohio, November 5, 1858: "An enthusiastic meeting is in progress here tonight in favor of Lincoln for the next Republican candidate for President."

The *Journal and Courier*, Lowell, Massachusetts, October 20, 1858: "No man of this generation has grown more rapidly before the country than Lincoln in this canvas."

William E. Dodd, Professor of American History, University of Chicago, in his book "Expansion and Conflict," page 256, says: "Contrary to the advice of eastern politicians, they (Illinois Republicans) nominated Lincoln as the opponent of Douglas, and the shrewd man and able logician, challenged the senator to a joint debate, and the most important political discussion in our history followed."

### **Douglas Ousted by Southern Democrats' Senate, 1859**

Prof. William E. Dodd, University of Chicago, says: "In December, 1859, when Douglas entered upon his new term with an air of triumph, the senate majority, led by Jefferson Davis, promptly removed him from the chairmanship of the committee on territories, which was the signal for the opening of the fierce political war that preceded the assembling of the Democratic convention in Charleston."

This blow to Douglas was the result of his "Freeport Heresy," or "Freeport Doctrine," brought out by Lincoln's second question in the Freeport debate in 1858.

Woodrow Wilson: "In the great debates Lincoln forced Douglas upon the dilemma created for him by the Dred Scott decision, and made him an impossible presidential candidate for the southern Democrats in 1860 by forcing him to deny to the south the full benefits of the Dred Scott decision." It was Lincoln's second question at the Freeport debate to which Ex-President Wilson referred.

Jefferson Davis, page 26, a short history of the Confederate States of America, says: "It's assertion (the assertion of popular sovereignty) led to the dissensions which ultimately resulted in the rupture of the Democratic party."

### **Increase in Slavery**

In 1790, the northern states had freed their slaves. It was then the quite general belief that slavery would sooner or later be eliminated from the nation. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793, and the invention of weaving machinery, changed the situation.

In 1790 there were 467,927 slaves; in 1800, 893,043; in 1820, 1,519,017; in 1830, 2,005,475; in 1840, 2,486,326; in 1850, 3,204,051; in 1860, 3,953,696;

Slavery disappeared in the north, but had increased tremendously in the south. By 1830, the south had come to believe that slavery was an "economic necessity" and a "positive good."

The north having no slaves, chiefly no doubt because slavery was unprofitable in the north, was beginning to develop the idea that slavery was morally wrong, and that the north could not escape moral responsibility for the blight on the nation.

The more the north agitated the question, the more the south determined to control the politics of the nation to prevent abolition of slavery.



**The White House**



## The Verdict of Historians

Latane's History of United States: "In the debate at Freeport Lincoln asked Douglas, how could a territory forbid slavery when congress could not?" The debate brought Lincoln who was a comparatively unknown man into national prominence and led to his nomination to the presidency in 1860."

Dr. James A. Woodburn, in Woodburn and Moran's American History: "Douglas did not care about the right or wrong of slavery. Lincoln wanted to deal with slavery as being wrong."

James Ford Rhodes' History of the United States, Volume II, page 328: "This answer (the answer of Douglas to Lincoln's second question at Freeport) attracted more attention throughout the country than any statement of Douglas during the campaign; and, while he could not have been elected senator without taking that position, the enunciation of the doctrine was an insuperable obstacle to cementing the division in the Democratic party. The influence of this meeting at Freeport is an example of the greater interest incited by a joint debate, than by an ordinary canvas. Now the country resounded with the discussions of the Freeport theory of 'unfriendly legislation.' "

Rhodes, Volume II, page 339. This quotes Lincoln in regard to his defeat for the senate in the campaign of 1858: "It gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view, and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of the civil liberty long after I am gone."

Rhodes, Volume II, page 343, says of the victory of Douglas over Lincoln, for the senate in 1858: "As Douglas had won his hard fought field, he was now the most glorious son of his country. No one came near him in popular estimation; it was generally conceded that he would be the Democratic candidate for president in 1860, and would probably be elected."

But when the campaign of 1860 arrived, it was the reply of Douglas to that second question of Lincoln at Freeport, August 27, 1858, that split the Democratic party so that that party had two candidates against Lincoln for the presidency and made Lincoln's election possible.

Rhodes, Volume II, page 355, says: "The Freeport doctrine of the Illinois senator

(Douglas) seemed heresy to those who implicitly believed in the Calhoun principle."

McLaughlin's History of American Nation, page 402: "Douglas was the strongest and keenest debater in congress, and the recognized leader of the Democratic party at the north. The whole nation watched the contest with interest, and the Republicans were surprised and delighted at the shrewdness with which Lincoln exposed the fallacies of Douglas."

Hart's New American History, page 397: "Lincoln skillfully compelled Douglas to put forth what was called the 'Freeport doctrine,' to the effect that the people of a territory might actually prevent slavery by 'unfriendly legislation.' This was in accord with popular sovereignty, but was contrary to the Dred Scott decision. Partly because of his Freeport doctrine, Douglas was elected to the senate, but when he went back to Washington, he found that the southern Democrats who controlled the party organization, refused to recognize him as an associate in the party."

West's History of American People: "Douglas's 'Freeport Doctrine' was at once bitterly denounced by the South."

James Sanford's American History: "Lincoln was then (1858) the most eminent jury lawyer in Illinois, but was little known outside the bounds of the state. Douglas was the best known public man in the country and the ablest debater in the senate at the time.

"Thousands of people attended the joint debates. The climax was *reached at Freeport*. Douglas's 'Freeport Doctrine' meant repudiation of the Dred Scott decision.

"Douglas was elected to the senate, but he had lost the prize he sought, the presidency, for his influence over southern democracy was gone."

"Twenty Years in Congress," by James G. Blaine, Volume I, page 148: "The debate of that day (the Freeport debate) was the important one of the series. Mr. Lincoln had secured an advantage in the national relations of the contest which he held to the end. The debate was not a mere incident in American politics. *It marked an era.*"

Extract from Muzzey's History, page 317, paragraph 452. The "Freeport Doctrine." "The Dred Scott decision declared it unconstitutional for the national government to exclude slavery from the territories; but at the same time the Kansas-Nebraska bill,

with its doctrine of popular sovereignty, conferred on a territory the right to exclude slavery for itself. Douglas supported both these positions. But, asked Lincoln in the debate at Freeport, how can a territory forbid slavery when congress cannot? The territory is the creation of congress. Does it have more power than the congress which creates it? Can water rise above its source? The question brought the answer Lincoln wanted."

Dr. H. Von Holst, Professor of History, Heidelberg, Germany, then of Harvard University, then University of Chicago, author of "Constitutional History of the United States," in Volume VI, page 292, says: "The answer which Douglas gave, on the 27th day of August in *Freeport* was an unsurpassable masterpiece of sophistry \* \* \* and the inferences to be drawn from them (his answer) were the grave of Douglas's presidential hopes.

"This (Lincoln's second question and Douglas's answer) it was that gave the electoral campaign of the year 1858 in Illinois its immense importance. The struggle reached its highest point of intensity in Douglas's speech (his reply to the second question) at Freeport. The decision of the main question was made there. There Lincoln had given irrefutable proof that the Republican party, by adopting the project of Greeley and his associates, would have sold their world historic mission for less than a mess of pottage; for that mission was at an end the moment that party no longer based its right of existence on the struggle for a moral principle."

Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, writes the committee: "It is conceded, I believe, that his speech at Freeport and the 'Freeport Doctrine' made of Mr. Lincoln a national character and opened his way as a presidential candidate. The people of your city and county, therefore, had a very large part in the stirring events of those days, and I am glad they are justly proud of this and will mark the anniversary in an appropriate manner."

Dr. Carl R. Fish, Head of the Department of American History, University of Wisconsin, writes the committee:

"The Lincoln-Douglas debate crystallized national thinking on the all-important subject of the extension of slavery. All argument, discussion and political contest after this was based on the views then set forth. In this great debate, the contest at Freeport is the outstanding feature.

"And to the citizens of Freeport, and to the citizens of the whole country, that site should ever be revered as one of the places where great Americans were engaged in deep and honest thought."

Dr. James Albert Woodburn, Head of the Department of American History, University of Indiana, in a letter to the celebration committee, says:

"You do well to celebrate the Freeport debate. It was an historic event which will be forever remembered. I have been teaching American History in this University for more than thirty years and I have never failed to call to the attention of the classes in our political history the famous Freeport question of Lincoln to Douglas which led to Douglas's Freeport doctrine' or the doctrine of 'unfriendly legislation.'

"That debate in your historic little city not only had a bearing on the immediate election of 1858, but it had a decisive influence on the great presidential contest of 1860, and on subsequent American history. It is not too much to say that the Lincoln-Douglas debates made Lincoln president. Freeport may therefore claim a large share of attention in considering the historic events leading to the civil war and the tremendous consequences that followed that great conflict. While Freeport stands with one stone upon another, her people should see to it that the story of the great debate should continue to be told from sire to son."

### **The Boulder Placed**

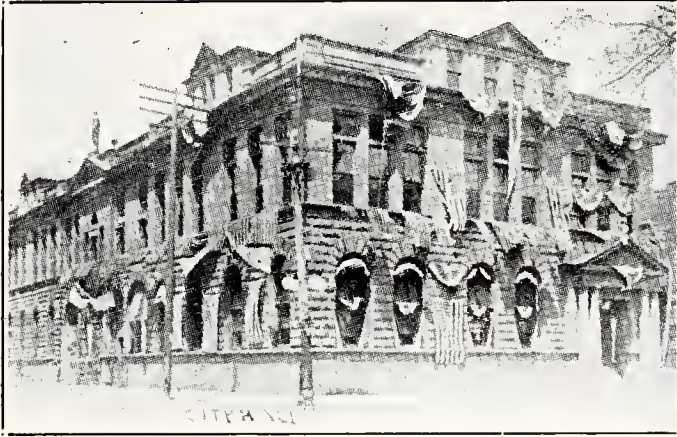
Interested Freeporters had often suggested the idea of a monument to mark the site of the Lincoln-Douglas debate. It remained however for the Freeport Woman's Club to take the initiative and place the monument.

Mrs. C. R. Sheetz, President of, the Woman's Club appointed a committee—Mrs. C. F. Hildreth, Miss Flora Guiteau, Alice Sanborn Brown, Mrs. C. D. Knowlton, and Miss Winnie Taylor, to take charge of the matter of marking the site of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate. The boulder, an exceptionally fine specimen was finally selected by this committee near Devil's Lake, Wisconsin, and brought to Freeport in 1903, where it marks the site of the great debate and ranks among the nation's historic monuments.

The Boulder was unveiled June 3, 1903, and dedicated by President Roosevelt, who spoke at the Courthouse at eight o'clock A. M., before a large concourse of people.



## The History of Freeport



Freeport's City Hall

In beautiful streets, in its business section, in industries, in civic enterprise, in schools and churches, in the character of her people, and in national historic interest, no American city excels Freeport, Illinois. Few cities are more widely or more favorably known. In the boulder that marks the site of the Lincoln-Douglas debate, Freeport is proud to contain one of the nation's noblest historic landmarks.

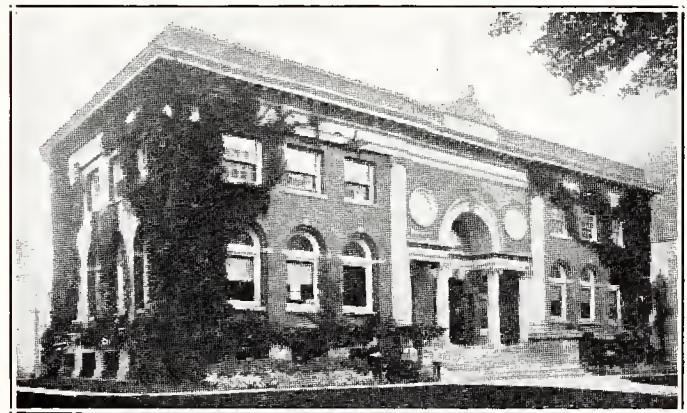
Winding through the city, Galena Avenue is a mark of the Indian trail. No braver men have lived than the "rangers," Colonels Dodge, Stephenson, Hamilton and Gratiot, who with small bands of armed horsemen, crossed and recrossed Stephenson County, as they protected the frontier settlements from the roving bands of Indians. Some day Freeport will perpetuate the memory of these fearless scouts in a marble statue. Then came Black Hawk's war, the decisive battle of which was fought in 1832, in Stephenson County, at Kellogg's Grove, near Kent, now marked by the Blackhawk monument. Following the war came the first white settlers into Stephenson County.

Our first settlers came in from the west, from the lead mine district around Galena. The first permanent home in the county was built by William Waddams, at Waddams Grove, in 1833. Lyman Brewster settled at

Winslow in 1834; James Timms at Kellogg's Grove in 1835. The first home in Freeport was built by William Baker, in December, 1835. Stephenson County was organized in 1837 and in June that year Freeport was selected to be the County seat. A stage line from Chicago to Freeport was opened in 1838. The first session of the circuit court was in 1839. The first newspaper, the *Prairie Democrat*, was started in November, 1847, and the first issue of the *Freeport Journal* appeared November 22, 1848, and the *Deutscher Anzeiger* in 1853. In 1850 Freeport was incorporated as a town, with a population of 1436. In 1855 Freeport was incorporated as a city, and Hon. Thomas J. Turner was elected first mayor. August, 1853, the first railroad train arrived. Today nine transportation lines run out from Freeport, making it a most desirable location for business and industrial institutions.

The first school was established in 1839, followed by excellent ward schools and a high school. Plans are completed for a new, adequate, modern high school building on a beautiful twenty-five acre site.

Freeport is a church-going community, and civic and welfare organizations, the Amity Society, the Woman's Club, and its great Chautauqua, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Associated Charities, the Catholic Woman's Guild, the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions clubs, are active.



Freeport Public Library



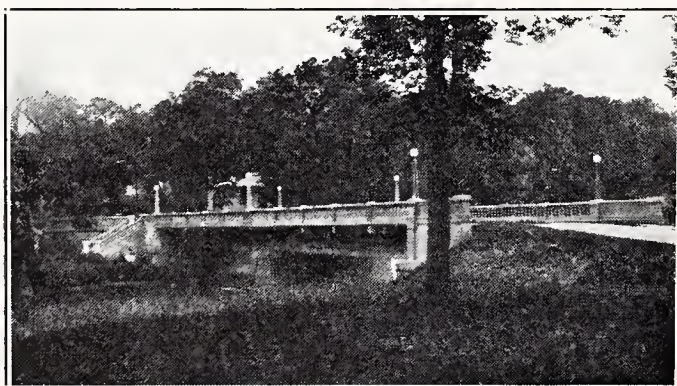


**Stephenson Street, Freeport, noted throughout the Country as one of America's Most Beautiful Streets**

### **The Lincoln-Douglas Debate**

The great event which gives Freeport a national character, was the Lincoln-Douglas debate, August 27, 1858, elsewhere explained.

During the Civil War Stephenson County sent 3,168 soldiers to fight for the preservation of the Union, some of whom won great distinction and high military positions. Many had volunteered for the Mexican war, and in 1898, enlisted for the Spanish American war. In the world war which America entered in 1917, about 1,500 entered all branches of the United States military and naval service. Of these about 450 saw overseas service, 51 making the supreme sacrifice of life in action or from wounds or disease in camp hospitals. No city or county has a prouder patriotic record than Freeport and Stephenson County.



**Bridge, Krape Park**

Freeport has 170 acres of parks, the Third Ward Park, Knowlton Park, Bidwell Park, Krape Park of 80 acres and Taylor's Park of 80 acres, including a zoo at Krape Park superior to that of many cities of 100,000 population. Freeport has the reputation of enjoying a larger park acreage than any city of equal population in the United States. These parks and the zoo attract thousands to Freeport from Wisconsin and Iowa in addition to affording daily recreation to our own people. Sunday, thousands enjoy the programs of the Freeport Concert Band. The Freeport Country Club has one of the best golf courses in the country.



**Bridge, Krape Park**

### **Freeport Business and Industrial Center**

Because of its location, its rich agricultural environs, its excellent water supply, its unsurpassed transportation facilities, and available factory sites, Freeport has developed in retail business, wholesale and jobbing business and industrial plants, till it has become known as one of the best business and industrial centers in the country. It is now entering upon an era of rapid expansion. Present plans for hard and patrolled roads will, when completed, give the county roads equal to those of any county in the nation.

### **"We Like Freeport"**

As a city in which to live, Freeport has no superior. This is evidenced every day by our newer citizens, who having lived in other cities, have come to Freeport. Invariably they say "We like Freeport."



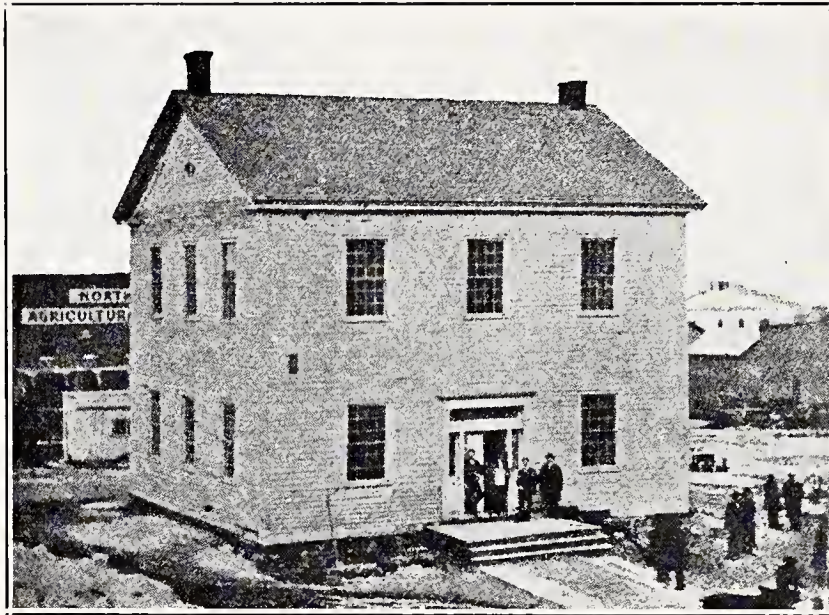


**The Little Red School House**



**Freeport's Proposed New High School Building**





**Stephenson County's First Court House, Completed 1840.**



**Entrance to Taylor's Park, Freeport.**



## The Speeches Which Lincoln and Douglas Delivered in the Freeport Debate, August 27, 1858

### Mr. Lincoln's Speech

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and myself first met in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I an hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and then I am to reply for half an hour. I propose to devote myself during the first hour to the scope of what was brought within the range of his half-hour speech at Ottawa. Of course there was brought within the scope of that half-hour's speech something of his own opening speech. In the course of that opening argument Judge Douglas proposed to me seven distinct interrogatories. In my speech of an hour and a half, I attended to some other parts of his speech, and incidentally, as I thought, answered one of the interrogatories then. I then distinctly intimated to him that I would answer the rest of his interrogatories on condition only that he should agree to answer as many for me. He made no intimation at the time of the proposition, nor did he in his reply allude at all to that suggestion of mine. I do him no



Hon. Thomas Turner, who  
Introduced Lincoln

injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had *refused* to answer his interrogatories. I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories, upon condition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number. I give him an opportunity to respond. The Judge remains silent. I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not; and that after I have done so, I shall propound mine to him.

I have supposed myself, since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington, in May, 1856, bound as a party man by the platforms of the party, then and since. If in any interrogatories which I shall answer I go beyond the scope of what is within these platforms, it will be perceived that no one is responsible but myself.

Having said thus much, I will take up the Judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the *Chicago Times*, and answer them *seriatim*. In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied the interrogatories in writing, and also my answers to them. The first one of these interrogatories is in these words:

*Question 1.*—"I desire to know whether Lincoln today stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law?"

*Answer.*—I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law.

*Q. 2.* "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged today, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?"

*A.* I do not now, or ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union.

*Q. 3.* "I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?"

*A.* I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union, with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.

*Q. 4.* "I want to know whether he stands today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

*A.* I do not stand today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

*Q. 5.* "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States?"

*A.* I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States.

*Q. 6.* "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?"

*A.* I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

*Q. 7.* "I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?"

*A.* I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly, that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive Slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States



are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive Slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another Slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual; *second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation."

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here, that as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly answer as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power, unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States,

is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

Now in all this the Judge has me, and he has me on the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place, and another set for another place; that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience.

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories, so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

The first one is:—

*Question 1.* If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill,—some ninety-three thousand,—will you vote to admit them?

*Q. 2.* Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?

*Q. 3.* If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following such decision as a rule of political action?

*Q. 4.* Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question?

As introductory to these interrogatories which Judge Douglas propounded to me at Ottawa, he read a set of resolutions which he said Judge Trumbull and myself had participated in adopting, in the first Republican State Convention, held at Springfield in October, 1854. He insisted that I and Judge Trumbull, and perhaps the entire Republican party, were responsible for the doctrines contained in the set of resolutions which he read, and I understand that it was from that set of resolutions that he deduced the interrogatories which he propounded to me, using these resolutions as a sort of authority for propounding those questions to me. Now, I say here today that I do not answer his interrogatories because of their springing at all from that set of resolutions which he read. I answered them because Judge Douglas thought fit to ask them. I do not now, nor never did, recognize any responsibility upon myself in that set of resolutions. When I replied to him on that occasion, I assured him that I never had anything to do with them. I repeat here today that I never in any possible form had anything to do with that set of resolutions. It turns out, I believe, that those resolutions were never passed in any convention held in Springfield. It turns out that they were



never passed at any convention or any public meeting that I had any part in. I believe it turns out, in addition to all this, that there was not, in the fall of 1854, any convention holding a session in Springfield, calling itself a Republican State Convention; yet it is true there was a convention, or assemblage of men calling themselves a convention, at Springfield, that did pass *some* resolutions. But so little did I really know of the proceedings of that convention, or what set of resolutions they had passed, though having a general knowledge that there had been such an assemblage of men there, that when Judge Douglas read the resolutions, I really did not know but they had been the resolutions passed then and there. I did not question that they were the resolutions adopted. For I could not bring myself to suppose that Judge Douglas could say what he did upon this subject without *knowing* that it was true. I contented myself, on that occasion, with denying, as I truly could, all connection with them, not denying or affirming whether they were passed at Springfield. Now, it turns out that he had got hold of some resolutions passed at some convention or public meeting in Kane County. I wish to say here, that I don't conceive that in any fair and just mind this discovery relieves me at all. I had just as much to do with the convention in Kane County as that at Springfield. I am just as much responsible for the resolutions at Kane County as those at Springfield,—the amount of the responsibility being exactly nothing in either case; no more than there would be in regard to a set of resolutions passed in the moon.

I allude to this extraordinary matter in this canvass for some further purpose than anything yet advanced. Judge Douglas did not make his statement upon that occasion as matters that he believed to be true, but he stated them roundly as *being true*, in such form as to pledge his veracity for their truth. When the whole matter turns out as it does, and when we consider who Judge Douglas is,—that he is a distinguished Senator of the United States; that he has served nearly twelve years as such; that his character is not at all limited as an ordinary Senator of the United States, but that his name has become of world-wide renown,—it is *most extraordinary* that he should so far forget all the suggestions of justice to an adversary, or of prudence to himself, as to venture upon the assertion of that which the slightest investigation would have shown him to be wholly false. I can only account for his having done so upon the supposition that that evil genius which has attended him through his life, giving to him an apparent astonishing prosperity, such as to lead very many good men to doubt there being any advantage in virtue over vice,—I say I can only account for it on the supposition that that evil genius has at last made up its mind to forsake him.

And I may add that another extraordinary feature of the Judge's conduct in this canvass—made more extraordinary by this incident—is, that he is in the habit, in almost all the speeches he makes, of charging falsehood upon his adversaries, myself and others. I now ask whether he is able to find in anything that Judge Trumbull, for instance, has said, or in anything that I have said, a justification at all compared with what we have, in this instance, for that sort of vulgarity.

I have been in the habit of charging as a matter of belief on my part that, in the introduction of the Nebraska bill into Congress, there was a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual and national. I have arranged from time to time the evidence which establishes and proves the truth of this charge. I recurred to this charge

at Ottawa. I shall not now have time to dwell upon it at very great length; but inasmuch as Judge Douglas, in his reply of half an hour, made some points upon me in relation to it, I propose noticing a few of them.

The Judge insists that, in the first speech I made, in which I very distinctly made that charge, he thought for a good while I was in fun! that I was playful; that I was not sincere about it; and that he only grew angry and somewhat excited when he found that I insisted upon it as a matter of earnestness. He says he characterized it as a falsehood so far as I implicated his *moral character* in that transaction. Well, I did not know, till he presented that view, that I had implicated his moral character. He is very much in the habit, when he argues me up into a position I never thought of occupying, of very cosily saying he has no doubt Lincoln is "conscientious" in saying so. He should remember that I did not know but what *he* was *altogether* "conscientious" in that matter. I can conceive it possible for men to conspire to do a thing, and I really find nothing in Judge Douglas' course or arguments that is contrary to or inconsistent with his belief of a conspiracy to nationalize and spread slavery as being a good and blessed thing; and so I hope he will understand that I do not at all question but that in all this matter he is entirely "conscientious."

But to draw your attention to one of the points I made in this case, beginning at the beginning. When the Nebraska bill was introduced, or a short time afterward, by an amendment, I believe, it was provided that it must be considered "the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." I have called his attention to the fact that when he and some others began arguing that they were giving an increased degree of liberty to the people in the Territories over and above what they formerly had on the question of slavery, a question was raised whether the law was enacted to give such unconditional liberty to the people; and to test the sincerity of this mode of argument, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, introduced an amendment, in which he made the law—if the amendment were adopted—expressly declare that the people of the Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit. I have asked attention also to the fact that Judge Douglas and those who acted with him voted that amendment down, notwithstanding it expressed exactly the thing they said was the true intent and meaning of the law. I have called attention to the fact that in subsequent times a decision of the Supreme Court has been made, in which it has been declared that a Territorial Legislature has no constitutional right to exclude slavery. And I have argued and said that for men who did not intend that the people of the Territory should have the right to exclude slavery absolutely and unconditionally, the voting down of Chase's amendment is wholly inexplicable. It is a puzzle, a riddle. But I have said, that with men who did not look forward to such a decision, or who had it in contemplation that such a decision of the Supreme Court would or might be made, the voting down of that amendment would be perfectly rational and intelligible. It would keep Congress from coming in collision with the decision when it was made. Anybody can conceive that if there was an intention or expectation that such a decision was to follow, it would not be a very desirable party attitude to get into for the Supreme Court—all or nearly all its members be-

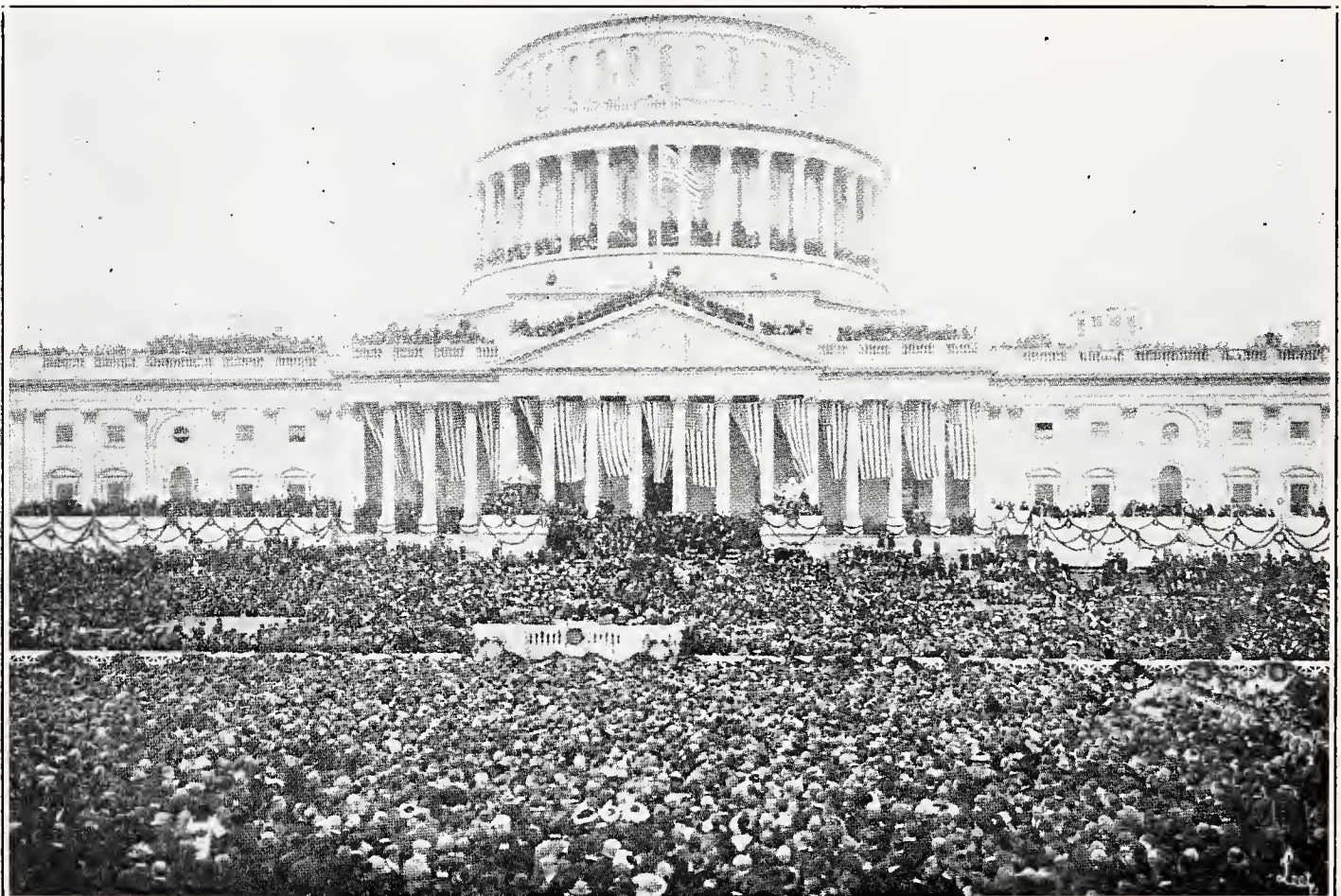


## **From the Log Cabin to the Presidency**

**American Institutions are Safe as Long as the Pathway from the  
Lowliest Ranks to the Presidency is Kept Open**



**Log Cabin in which Lincoln was Born**



**The National Capital on Inauguration Day**



longing to the same party—to decide one way, when the party in Congress had decided the other way. Hence it would be very rational for men expecting such a decision to keep the niche in that law clear for it. After pointing this out, I tell Judge Douglas that it looks to me as though here was the reason why Chase's amendment was voted down. I tell him that, as he did it, and knows why he did it, if it was done for a reason different from this, *he knows what that reason was, and can tell us what it was*. I tell him, also, it will be vastly more satisfactory to the country for him to give some other plausible, intelligible reason *why* it was voted down than to stand upon his dignity and call people liars. Well, on Saturday he did make his answer; and what do you think it was? He says if I had only taken upon myself to tell the whole truth about that amendment of Chase's, no explanations would have been necessary on his part—or words to that effect. Now, I say here that I am quite unconscious of having suppressed anything material to the case, and I am very frank to admit if there is any sound reason other than that which appeared to me material, it is quite fair for him to present it. What reason does he propose? That when Chase came forward with his amendment expressly authorizing the people to exclude slavery from the limits of every Territory, General Cass proposed to Chase, if he (Chase) would add to his amendment that the people should have the power to *introduce* or *exclude*, they would let it go. This is substantially all of his reply. And because Chase would not do that, they voted his amendment down. Well, it turns out, I believe, upon examination, that General Cass took some part in the little running debate upon that amendment, and then ran away *and did not vote on it at all*. Is not that the fact? So confident, as I think, was General Cass, that there was a snake somewhere about, he chose to run away from the whole thing. This is an inference I draw from the fact that, though he took part in the debate, his name does not appear in the ayes and noes. But does Judge Douglas's reply amount to a satisfactory answer? [Cries of "Yes," "Yes," and "No," "No."] There is some little difference of opinion here. But I ask attention to a few more views bearing on the question of whether it amounts to a satisfactory answer. The men who were determined that that amendment should not get into the bill and spoil the place where the Dred Scott decision was to come in, sought an excuse to get rid of it somewhere. One of these ways—one of these excuses—was to ask Chase to add to his proposed amendment a provision that the people might *introduce* slavery if they wanted to. They very well knew Chase would do no such thing, that Mr. Chase was one of the men differing from them on the broad principle of his insisting that freedom was *better* than slavery,—a man who would not consent to enact a law, penned with his own hand, by which he was made to recognize slavery on the one hand, and liberty on the other, as *precisely equal*; and when they insisted on his doing this, they very well knew they insisted on that which he would not for a moment think of doing, and that they were only bluffing him. I believe (I have not, since he made his answer, had a chance to examine the journals or "Congressional Globe" and therefore speak from memory)—I believe the state of the bill at that time, according to parliamentary rules, was such that no member could propose an additional amendment to Chase's amendment. I rather think this is the truth,—the Judge shakes his head. Very well. I would like to know, then, *if they wanted Chase's amendment fixed over, why somebody else could not have offered to do it?* If they wanted it amended, why did they not offer the amendment? Why did they stand there taunting and quibbling

at Chase? Why did they not *put it in themselves?* But to put it on the other ground: suppose that there was such an amendment offered, and Chase's was an amendment to an amendment; until one is disposed of by parliamentary law, you cannot pile another on. Then all these gentlemen had to do was to vote Chase's on, and then, in the amended form in which the whole stood, add their own amendment to it, if they wanted to put it in that shape. This was all they were obliged to do, and the ayes and noes show that there were thirty-six who voted it down, against ten who voted in favor of it. The thirty-six held entire sway and control. They could in some form or other have put that bill in the exact shape they wanted. If there was a rule preventing their amending it at the time, they could pass that, and then, Chase's amendment being merged, put it in the shape they wanted. They did not choose to do so, but they went into a quibble with Chase to get him to add what they knew he would not add, and because he would not, they stand upon the flimsy pretext for voting down what they argued was the meaning and intent of their own bill. They left room thereby for this Dred Scott decision, which goes very far to make slavery national throughout the United States.

I pass one or two points I have, because my time will very soon expire; but I must be allowed to say that Judge Douglas recurs again, as he did upon one or two other occasions, to the enormity of Lincoln,—an insignificant individual like Lincoln,—upon his *ipse dixit* charging a conspiracy upon a large number of members of Congress, the Supreme Court, and two Presidents, to nationalize slavery. I want to say that, in the first place, I have made no charge of this sort upon my *ipse dixit*. I have only arrayed the evidence tending to prove it, and presented it to the understanding of others, saying what I think it proves, but giving you the means of judging whether it proves it or not. This is precisely what I have done. I have not placed it upon my *ipse dixit* at all. On this occasion, I wish to recall his attention to a piece of evidence which I brought forward at Ottawa on Saturday, showing that he had made substantially the *same charge* against substantially the *same persons*, excluding his dear self from the category. I ask him to give some attention to the evidence which I brought forward that he himself had discovered a "fatal blow being struck" against the right of the people to exclude slavery from their limits, which fatal blow he assumed as evidence in an article in the *Washington Union*, published "by authority." I ask by whose authority? He discovers a similar or identical provision in the Lecompton Constitution. Made by whom? The framers of that Constitution. Advocated by whom? By all the members of the party in the nation, who advocated the introduction of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution.

I have asked his attention to the evidence that he arrayed to prove that such a fatal blow was being struck, and to the facts which he brought forward in support of that charge,—being identical with the one which he thinks so villainous in me. He pointed it, not at a newspaper editor merely, but at the President and his Cabinet and the members of Congress advocating the Lecompton Constitution and those framing that instrument. I must again be permitted to remind him that although my *ipse dixit* may not be as great as his, yet it somewhat reduces the force of his calling my attention to the *enormity* of my making a like charge against him.

Go on, Judge Douglas.



### Mr. Douglas' Speech

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The silence with which you have listened to Mr. Lincoln during his hour is creditable to this vast audience, composed of men of various political parties. Nothing is more honorable to any large mass of people assembled for the purpose of a fair discussion than that kind and respectful attention that is yielded, not only to your political friends, but to those who are opposed to you in politics.

I am glad that at last I have brought Mr. Lincoln to the conclusion that he had better define his position on certain political questions to which I called his attention at Ottawa. He there showed no disposition, no inclination, to answer them. I did not present idle questions for him to answer, merely for my gratification. I laid the foundation for those interrogatories by showing that they constituted the platform of the party whose nominee he is for the Senate. I did not presume that I had the right to catechise him as I saw proper, unless I showed that his party, or a majority of it, stood upon the platform and were in favor of the propositions upon which my questions were based. I desired simply to know, inasmuch as he had been nominated as the first, last, and only choice of his party, whether he concurred in the platform which that party had adopted for its government. In a few minutes I will proceed to review the answers which he has given to these interrogatories; but, in order to relieve his anxiety. I will first respond to these which he has presented to me. Mark you, he has not presented interrogatories which have ever received the sanction of the party with which I am acting, and hence he has no other foundation for them than his own curiosity.

First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable, and ask admission into the Union as a State, before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer, on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a Free State, because she had not the requisite population for a member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not consent, under any circumstances, to let a State, free or slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field, fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question, and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that as she has population enough to constitute a Slave State, she has people enough for a Free State. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other States of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule, of universal application, to require a Territory to contain



**Col. James Mitchell, who  
Introduced Douglas**

the requisite population for a member of Congress before it is admitted as a State into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no Territory of the United States should form a constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. On another occasion I proposed that neither Kansas nor any other Territory should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception to Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a Free State, with whatever population she may have, or the rule must be applied to all the other Territories alike. I therefore answer at once, that, it having been decided that Kansas has people enough for a Slave State, I hold that she has enough for a Free State. I hope Mr. Lincoln is satisfied with my answer; and now I would like to get his answer to his own interrogatory,—whether or not he will vote to admit Kansas before she has the requisite population. I want to know whether he will vote to admit Oregon before that Territory has the requisite population. Mr. Trumbull will not, and the same reason that commits Mr. Trumbull against the admission of Oregon, commits him against Kansas, even if she should apply for admission as a Free State. If there is any sincerity, any truth, in the argument of Mr. Trumbull in the Senate, against the admission of Oregon because she had not 93,420 people, although her population was larger than that of Kansas, he stands pledged against the admission of both Oregon and Kansas until they have 93,420 inhabitants. I would like Mr. Lincoln to answer this question. I would like him to take his own medicine. If he differs with Mr. Trumbull, let him answer his argument against the admission of Oregon, instead of poking questions at me.

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, Can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

In this connection, I will notice the charge which he has introduced in relation to Mr. Chase's amendment. I thought that I had chased that amendment out of



Mr. Lincoln's brain at Ottawa; but it seems that it still haunts his imagination, and he is not yet satisfied. I had supposed that he would be ashamed to press that question further. He is a lawyer, and has been a member of Congress, and has occupied his time and amused you by telling you about parliamentary proceedings. He ought to have known better than to try to palm off his miserable impositions upon this intelligent audience. The Nebraska bill provided that the legislative power and authority of the said Territory should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the organic act and the Constitution of the United States. I did not make any exception as to slavery, but gave all the power that it was possible for Congress to give, without violating the Constitution, to the Territorial legislature, with no exception or limitation on the subject of slavery at all. The language of that bill which I have quoted gave the full power and the full authority over the subject of slavery, affirmatively and negatively, to introduce it or exclude it, so far as the Constitution of the United States would permit. What more could Mr. Chase give by his amendment? Nothing. He offered his amendment for the identical purpose for which Mr. Lincoln is using it,—to enable demagogues in the country to try and deceive the people.

His amendment was to this effect. It provided that the legislature should have the power to exclude slavery; and General Cass suggested, "Why not give the power to introduce as well as exclude?" The answer was, They have the power already in the bill to do both. Chase was afraid his amendment would be adopted if he put the alternative proposition, and so make it fair both ways, but would not yield. He offered it for the purpose of having it rejected. He offered it, as he has himself avowed over and over again, simply to make capital out of it for the stump. He expected that it would be capital for small politicians in the country, and that they would make an effort to deceive the people with it; and he was not mistaken, for Lincoln is carrying out the plan admirably. Lincoln knows that the Nebraska bill, without Chase's amendment, gave all the power which the Constitution would permit. Could Congress confer any more? Could Congress go beyond the Constitution of the country? We gave all a full grant, with no exception in regard to slavery one way or the other. We left that question as we left all others, to be decided by the people for themselves, just as they please. I will not occupy my time on this question. I have argued it before, all over Illinois. I have argued it in this beautiful city of Freeport; I have argued it in the North, the South, the East, and the West, avowing the same sentiments and the same principles. I have not been afraid to avow my sentiments up here for fear I would be trotted down into Egypt.

The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is, If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits, will I submit to it? I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. ["A schoolboy knows better."] Yes, a schoolboy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the *Washington Union*, in an article published on the 17th of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate, in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The *Union* had

claimed that slavery had a right to go into the Free States, and that any provision in the Constitution or laws of the Free States to the contrary were null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull, and Seward, and Hale, and Wilson, and the whole Black Republican side of the Senate, were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. And what was the reply made to me on that occasion? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of notice, and ought not to have replied to it; that there was not one man, woman, or child south of the Potomac, in any Slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made on the spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me, Suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, would I sanction it; and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States, by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisan feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act.

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is, Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory, unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you [addressing Mr. Lincoln] opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns, Yankee-fashion, and without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery; and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory, as they prefer. It is idle to tell me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi River; but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana territory, from the West branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present; but this is a young and growing nation. It swarms as often as a hive of bees; and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. In less than fifteen years, if the same progress that has distinguished the country for the last fifteen years continues, every foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific Ocean, owned by the United States, will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? I tell you, increase, and multiply, and expand, is the law of this nation's existence. You can.



not limit this great Republic by mere boundary lines, saying, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve years old that he is big enough, and must not grow any larger; and in order to prevent his growth, put a hoop around him to keep him to his present size. What would be the result? Either the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the child must die. So it would be with this great nation. With our national increase, growing with a rapidity unknown in any part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism in the old world to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle; and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it; and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.

I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred Douglass, he will frame and propound others. ["Good, good."] You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred Douglass is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as I am doing today, I saw a carriage—and a magnificent one it was—drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box-seat, whilst Fred Douglass and her mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. I saw this in your own town. ["What of it?"] All I have to say of it is this, that if you, Black Republicans, think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have perfect right to do so. I am told that one of Fred Douglass's kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State, making speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion of black men. ["What have you to say against it?"] All I have to say on that subject is, that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially, politically, and legally, have a right to entertain those opinions, and of course will vote for Mr. Lincoln.

I have a word to say on Mr. Lincoln's answers to the interrogatories contained in my speech at Ottawa, and which he has pretended to reply to here today. Mr. Lincoln makes a great parade of the fact that I quoted a platform as having been adopted by the Black Republican party at Springfield in 1854, which, it turns out, was adopted at another place. Mr. Lincoln loses sight of the thing itself in his ecstasies over the mistake I made in stating the place where it was done. He thinks that that platform was not adopted on the right "spot."

When I put the direct questions to Mr. Lincoln to ascertain whether he now stands pledged to that creed,—to the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, a refusal to admit any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them, a determination to apply the Wilmot Proviso, not only to all the territory we now have, but all that we may hereafter acquire,—he refused to answer; and his followers say, in excuse, that the resolutions upon which I based my interrogatories were not adopted at the "right spot."

Lincoln and his political friends are great on "spots." In Congress, as a representative of this State, he declared the Mexican war to be unjust and infamous, and would not support it, or acknowledge his own country to be right in the contest, because he said that American blood was not shed on American soil in the "right spot." And now he cannot answer the questions I put to him at Ottawa because the resolutions I read were not adopted at the "right spot."

It may be possible that I was led into an error as to the spot on which the resolutions I then read were proclaimed, but I was not, and am not, in error as to the fact of their forming the basis of the creed of the Republican party when that party was first organized. I will state to you the evidence I had, and upon which



Making the First Flag

I relied for my statement that the resolutions in question were adopted at Springfield on the 5th of October, 1854. Although I was aware that such resolutions had been passed in this district, and nearly all the Northern Congressional Districts and County Conventions, I had not noticed whether or not they had been adopted by any State convention. In 1856, a debate arose in Congress between Major Thomas L. Harris, of the Springfield District, and Mr. Norton, of the Joliet District, on political matters connected with our State, in the course of which, Major Harris quoted these resolutions as having been passed by the first Republican State Convention that ever assembled in Illinois. I knew that Major Harris was remarkable for his accuracy, that he was a very conscientious and sincere man, and I also noticed that Norton did not question the accuracy of this statement. I therefore took it for granted that it was so; and the other day when I concluded to use the resolutions at Ottawa, I wrote to Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *State Register*, at Springfield, calling his attention to them, telling him that I had been informed that Major Harris was lying sick at Springfield, and desiring him to call upon him and ascertain all the facts concerning the resolutions, the time and the place where they were adopted. In reply, Mr. Lanphier sent me two copies of his paper, which I have here. The first is a copy of the *State Register*, published at Springfield, Mr. Lincoln's own town, on the 16th of October, 1854, only eleven days after the adjournment of the Convention, from which I desire to read the following:—

"During the late discussion in this city, Lincoln made a speech, to which Judge Douglas replied. In Lincoln's speech he took the broad ground that, according to the Declaration of Independence, the whites and blacks are



equal. From this he drew the conclusion, which he several times repeated, that the white man had no right to pass laws for the government of the black man without the nigger's consent. This speech of Lincoln's was heard and applauded by all the Abolitionists assembled in Springfield. So soon as Mr. Lincoln was done speaking, Mr. Coddington arose, and requested all the delegates to the Black Republican Convention to withdraw into the Senate chamber. They did so; and after long deliberation, they laid down the following Abolition platform as the platform on which they stood. We call the particular attention of all our readers to it."

Then follows the identical platform, word for word, which I read at Ottawa. Now, that was published in Mr. Lincoln's own town, eleven days after the Convention was held, and it has remained on record up to this day never contradicted.

When I quoted the resolutions at Ottawa and questioned Mr. Lincoln in relation to them, he said that his name was on the committee that reported them, but he did not serve, nor did he think he served, because he was, or thought he was, in Tazewell County at the time the Convention was in session. He did not deny that the resolutions were passed by the Springfield Convention. He did not know better, and evidently thought that they were; but afterward his friends declared that they had discovered that they varied in some respects from the resolutions passed by that Convention. I have shown you that I had good evidence for believing that the resolutions had been passed at Springfield. Mr. Lincoln ought to have known better; but not a word is said about his ignorance on the subject, whilst I, notwithstanding the circumstances, am accused of forgery.

Now, I will show you that if I have made a mistake as to the place where these resolutions were adopted,—and when I get down to Springfield I will investigate the matter, and see whether or not I have,—that the principles they enunciate were adopted as the Black Republican platform ["white, white"], in the various counties and Congressional Districts throughout the north end of the State in 1854. This platform was adopted in nearly every county that gave a Black Republican majority for the Legislature in that year, and here is a man [pointing to Mr. Denio, who sat on the stand near Deacon Bross] who knows as well as any living man that it was the creed of the Black Republican party at that time. I would be willing to call Denio as a witness, or any other honest man belonging to that party. I will now read the resolutions adopted at the Rockford Convention on the 30th day of August, 1854, which nominated Washburne for Congress. You elected him on the following platform:—

*"Resolved*, That the continued and increasing aggressions of slavery in our country are destructive of the best rights of a free people, and that such aggressions be successfully resisted without the united political action of all good men.

*"Resolved*, That the citizens of the United States hold in their hands peaceful, constitutional, and efficient remedy against the encroachments of the slave power,—the ballot box; and if that remedy is boldly and wisely applied, the principles of liberty and eternal justice will be established.

*"Resolved*, That we accept this issue forced upon us by the slave power, and, in defence of freedom, will co-operate and be known as Republicans, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:—

"To bring the Administration of the Government back to the control of first principles; to restore Kansas and Nebraska to the position of Free Territories; to repeal and entirely abrogate the Fugitive Slave law; to restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more Slave States into the Union; to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the General Government has exclusive jurisdiction; and to resist the acquisition of any more Territories, unless the introduction of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

*"Resolved*, That in furtherance of these principles we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office under the general or state government who is not positively committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guarantee that he is reliable, and shall adjure all party allegiance and ties.

*"Resolved*, That we cordially invite persons of all former political parties whatever, in favor of the object expressed in the above resolutions, to unite with us in carrying them into effect."

Well, you think that is a very good platform, do you not? If you do, if you approve it now, and think it is all right, you will not join with those men who say I libel you by calling these your principles, will you? Now, Mr. Lincoln complains; Mr. Lincoln charges that I did you and him injustice by saying that this was the platform of your party. I am told that Washburne made a speech in Galena last night, in which he abused me awfully for bringing to light this platform, on which he was elected to Congress. He thought that you had forgotten it, as he, and Mr. Lincoln desires too. He did not deny but that you had adopted it, and that he had subscribed to and was pledged by it, but he did not think it was fair to call it up and remind the people that it was their platform.

But I am glad to find that you are more honest in your Abolitionism than your leaders, by avowing that it is your platform, and right in your opinion.

In the adoption of that platform, you not only declared that you would resist the admission of any more Slave States, and work for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, but you pledged yourselves not to vote for any man for State or Federal offices who was not committed to these principles. You were thus committed. Similar resolutions to those were adopted in your county Convention here, and now with your admissions that they are your platform and embody your sentiments now as they did then, what do you think of Mr. Lincoln, your candidate for the United States Senate, who is attempting to dodge the responsibility of this platform, because it was not adopted in the right spot. I thought that it was adopted in Springfield; but it turns out it was not, that it was adopted at Rockford, and in the various counties which comprise this Congressional District. When I get into the next district, I will show that the same platform was adopted there, and so on through the State, until I nail the responsibility of it upon the Black Republican party throughout the State.

A VOICE: Couldn't you modify, and call it brown?

MR. DOUGLAS: Not a bit. I thought that you were becoming a little brown when your members in Congress voted for the Crittenden-Montgomery bill; but since



you have backed out from that position and gone back to Abolitionism you are black, and not brown.

Gentlemen, I have shown you what your platform was in 1854. You still adhere to it. The same platform was adopted by nearly all the counties where the Black Republican party had a majority in 1854. I wish now to call your attention to the action of your representatives in the Legislature when they assembled together at Springfield. In the first place, you must remember that this was the organization of a new party. It is so declared in the resolutions themselves, which say that you are going to dissolve all old party ties and call the new party Republican. The old Whig party was to have its throat cut from ear to ear, and the Democratic party was to be annihilated and blotted out of existence, whilst in lieu of these parties the Black Republican party was to be organized on this Abolition platform. You know who the chief leaders were in breaking up and destroying these two great parties. Lincoln on the one hand, and Trumbull on the other, being disappointed politicians, and having retired or been driven to obscurity by an outraged constituency because of their political sins, formed a scheme to Abolitionize the two parties, and lead the old line Whigs and old line Democrats captive, bound hand and foot, into the Abolition camp. Giddings, Chase, Fred Douglass, and Lovejoy were here to christen them whenever they were brought

in. Lincoln went to work to dissolve the old line Whig party. Clay was dead; and although the sod was not yet green on his grave, this man undertook to bring into disrepute those great Compromise measures of 1850, with which Clay and Webster were identified. Up to 1854 the old Whig party and the Democratic party had stood on a common platform so far as this slavery question was concerned. You Whigs and we Democrats differed about the bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury, but we agreed on this slavery question, and the true mode of preserving the peace and harmony of the Union. The Compromise measures of 1850 were introduced by Clay, were defended by Webster, and supported by Cass, and were approved by Fillmore, and sanctioned by the National men of both parties. They constituted a common plank upon which both Whigs and Democrats stood. In 1852 the Whig party, in its last National Convention at Baltimore, indorsed and approved these measures of Clay, and so did the National Convention of the Democratic party held that same year. Thus the old line Whigs and the old line Democrats stood pledged to the great principle of self-government, which guarantees to the people of each Territory the right to decide the slavery question for themselves. In 1854, after the death of Clay and Webster, Mr. Lincoln, on the part of the Whigs, undertook to Abolitionize the Whig party, by dissolving it, transferring the members into the Abolition camp, and making them train under Giddings, Fred Douglass, Lovejoy, Chase, Farnsworth, and other Abolition leaders. Trumbull undertook to dissolve the Democratic party by taking old Democrats into the Abolition camp. Mr. Lincoln was aided in his efforts by many leading Whigs throughout the State, your member of Congress, Mr. Washburne, being one of the most active. Trumbull was aided by many renegades from the Democratic party, among whom were John Wentworth, Tom Turner, and others, with whom you are familiar.

[Mr. TURNER, who was one of the moderators, here interposed, and said that he had drawn the resolutions which Senator Douglas had read.]

MR. DOUGLAS: Yes, and Turner says that he drew these resolutions. ["Hurrah for Turner," "Hurrah for Douglas."] That is right; give Turner cheers for drawing the resolutions if you approve them. If he drew those resolutions, he will not deny that they are the creed of the Black Republican party.

MR. TURNER: They are our creed exactly.

MR. DOUGLAS: And yet Lincoln denies that he stands on them. Mr. Turner says that the creed of the Black Republican party is the admission of no more Slave States, and yet Mr. Lincoln declares that he would not like to be placed in a position where he would have to vote for them. All I have to say to friend Lincoln is, that I do not think there is much danger of his being placed in such an embarrassing position as to be obliged



Stephenson County Court House and Soldiers' Monument



to vote on the admission of any more Slave States, I propose, out of mere kindness, to relieve him from any such necessity.

When the bargain between Lincoln and Trumbull was completed for Abolitionizing the Whig and Democratic parties, they "spread" over the State, Lincoln still pretending to be an old line Whig, in order to "rope in" the Whigs, and Trumbull pretending to be as good a Democrat as he ever was, in order to coax the Democrats over into the Abolition ranks. They played the part that "decoy ducks" play down on the Potomac River. In that part of the country they make artificial ducks, and put them on the water in places where the wild ducks are to be found, for the purpose of decoying them. Well, Lincoln and Trumbull played the part of these "decoy ducks", and deceived enough old line Whigs and old line Democrats to elect a Black Republican Legislature. When that Legislature met, the first thing it did was to elect as Speaker of the House the very man who is now boasting that he wrote the Abolition platform on which Lincoln will not stand. I want to know of Mr. Turner whether or not, when he was elected, he was a good embodiment of Republican principles?

MR. TURNER: I hope I was then, and am now.

MR. DOUGLAS: He swears that he hopes he was then, and is now. He wrote that Black Republican platform, and is satisfied with it now. I admire and acknowledge Mr. Turner's honesty. Every man of you knows that what he says about these resolutions being the platform of the Black Republican party is true, and you also know that each one of these men who are shuffling and trying to deny it are only trying to cheat the people out of their votes for the purpose of deceiving them still more after the election. I propose to trace this thing a little further, in order that you can see what additional evidence there is to fasten this revolutionary platform upon the Black Republican party. When the Legislature assembled, there was a United States Senator to elect in the place of General Shields, and before they proceeded to ballot, Lovejoy insisted on laying down certain principles by which to govern the party. It has been published to the world and satisfactorily proven that there was, at the time the alliance was made between Trumbull and Lincoln to Abolitionize the two parties, an agreement that Lincoln should take Shields's place in the United States Senate, and Trumbull should have mine so soon as they could conveniently get rid of me. When Lincoln was beaten for Shields's place in a manner I will refer to in a few minutes, he felt sore and restive; his friends grumbled, and some of them came out and charged that the most infamous treachery had been practiced against him; that the bargain was that Lincoln was to have had Shields's place, and Trumbull was to have waited for mine, but that Trumbull, having the control of a few Abolitionized Democrats, he prevented them from voting for Lincoln, thus keeping him within a few votes of an election until he succeeded in forcing the party to drop him and elect Trumbull. Well, Trumbull having cheated Lincoln, his friends made a fuss, and in order to keep them and Lincoln quiet, the party were obliged to come forward, and in advance, at the last State election, and make a pledge that they would go for Lincoln and nobody else. Lincoln could not be silenced in any other way.

Now, there are a great many Black Republicans of you who do not know this thing was done. ["White, white," and great clamor.] I wish to remind you that while Mr. Lincoln was speaking there was not a Democrat vulgar and blackguard enough to interrupt

him. But I know that the shoe is pinching you. I am clinching Lincoln now, and you are scared to death for the result. I have seen this thing before. I have seen men make appointments for joint discussions, and the moment their man has been heard, try to interrupt and prevent a fair hearing of the other side. I have seen your mobs before, and defy your wrath. [Tremendous applause.] My friends, do not cheer, for I need my whole time. The object of the opposition is to occupy my attention in order to prevent me from giving the whole evidence and nailing this double dealing on the Black Republican party. As I have said before, Lovejoy demanded a declaration of principles on the part of the Black Republicans of the Legislature before going into an election for United States Senator. He offered the following preamble and resolutions which I hold in my hand:

"WHEREAS, Human slavery is a violation of the principles of natural and revealed rights; and whereas the fathers of the Revolution, fully imbued with the spirit of these principles, declared freedom to be the inalienable birthright of all men; and whereas the preamble to the Constitution of the United States avers that that instrument was ordained to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and whereas, in furtherance of the above principles, slavery was forever prohibited in the old Northwest Territory, and more recently in all that Territory lying west and north of the State of Missouri, by the act of the Federal Government; and whereas the repeal of the prohibition last referred to was contrary to the wishes of the people of Illinois, a violation of an implied compact long deemed sacred by the citizens of the United States, and a wide departure from the uniform action of the General Government in relation to the extension of slavery; therefore,

"*Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested to introduce, if not otherwise introduced, and to vote for a bill to restore such prohibition to the aforesaid territories, and also to extend a similar prohibition to all territory which now belongs to the United States, or which may hereafter come under their jurisdiction

"*Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to vote against the admission of any State into the Union, the Constitution of which does not prohibit slavery, whether the territory out of which such State may have been formed shall have been acquired by conquest, treaty, purchase, or from original territory of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to introduce and vote for a bill to repeal an Act entitled 'an Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters;' and, failing in that, for such a modification of it as shall secure the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury before the regularly constituted authorities of the State, to all persons claimed as owing service or labor."

Those resolutions were introduced by Mr. Lovejoy immediately preceding the election of Senator. They declared, first, that the Wilmot Proviso must be applied to all territory north of 36 deg., 30 min. Secondly, that it must be applied to all territory south of 36 deg., 30 min. Thirdly, that it must be applied to all the territory now owned by the United States; and finally, that it must be applied to all territory hereafter to be acquired by the United States. The next



resolution declares that no more Slave States shall be admitted into this Union under any circumstances whatever, no matter whether they are formed out of territory now owned by us or that we may hereafter acquire, by treaty, by Congress, or in any manner whatever. The next resolution demands the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, although its unconditional repeal would leave no provision for carrying out that clause of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees the surrender of fugitives. If they could not get an unconditional repeal, they demanded that that law should be so modified as to make it as nearly useless as possible. Now, I want to show you who voted for these resolutions. When the vote was taken on the first resolution it was decided in the affirmative,—yeas 41, nays 32. You will find that this is a strict party vote, between the Democrats on the one hand, and the Black Republicans on the other. [Cries of "White, white," and clamor.] I know your name, and always call things by their right name. The point I wish to call your attention to is this: that these resolutions were adopted on the 7th day of February, and that on the 8th they went into an election for a United States Senator, and that day every man who voted for these resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted for Lincoln for the United States Senate. ["Give us their names."] I will read the names over to you if you want them, but I believe your object is to occupy my time.

On the next resolution the vote stood—yeas 33, nays 40; and on the third resolution—yeas 35, nays 47. I wish to impress it upon you that every man who voted for those resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted on the next day for Lincoln for United States Senator. Bear in mind that the members who have thus voted for Lincoln were elected to the Legislature pledged to vote for no man for office under the State or Federal Government who was not committed to this Black Republican platform. They were all so pledged. Mr. Turner, who stands by me, and who then represented you, and who says that he wrote those resolutions, voted for Lincoln, when he was pledged not to do so unless Lincoln was in favor of those resolutions. I now ask Mr. Turner [turning to Mr. Turner], did you violate your pledge in voting for Mr. Lincoln, or did he commit

OUR GERMAN BAND IN 1858



1 E. Balluff. 2 W. H. Wagner. 3 J. Kneff. 4 H. Baier.  
5 Mr. Johnson. 6 J. Deckler. 7 J. Luecke. 8 J. Rotzler.

himself to your platform before you cast your vote for him?

I could go through the whole list of names here, and show you that all the Black Republicans in the Legislature, who voted for Mr. Lincoln, had voted on the day previous for these resolutions. For instance, here are the names of Sargent and Little, of Jo Daviess and Carroll, Thomas J. Turner of Stephenson, Lawrence of Boone and McHenry, Swan of Lake, Pickney of Ogle County, and Lyman of Winnebago. Thus you see every member from your Congressional District voted for Mr. Lincoln, and they were pledged not to vote for him unless he was committed to the doctrine of no more Slave States, the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. Mr. Lincoln tells you today that he is not pledged to any such doctrine. Either Mr. Lincoln was then committed to those propositions, or else every Black Republican Representative from this Congressional District violated his pledge of honor to his constituents by voting for him. I ask you which horn of the dilemma will you take? Will you hold Lincoln up to the platform of his party, or will you accuse every Representative you had in the Legislature of violating his pledge of honor to his constituents? There is no escape for you. Either Mr. Lincoln was committed to those propositions, or your members violated their faith. Take either horn of the dilemma you choose. There is no dodging the question; I want Lincoln's answer. He says he was not pledged to repeal the Fugitive Slave law, that he does not quite like to do it; he will not introduce a law to repeal it, but thinks there ought to be some law; he does not tell what it ought to be; upon the whole, he is altogether undecided, and don't know what to think or do. That is the substance of his answer upon the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. I put the question to him distinctly, whether he indorsed that part of the Black Republican platform which calls for the entire abrogation and repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. He answers, No! that he does not indorse that; but he does not tell what he is for, or what he will vote for. His answer is, in fact, no answer at all. Why cannot he speak out, and say what he is for, and what he will do?

In regard to there being no more Slave States, he is not pledged to that. He would not like, he says, to be put in a position where he would have to vote one way or the other upon that question. I pray you, do not put him in a position that would embarrass him so much. Gentlemen, if he goes to the Senate, he may be put in that position, and then which way will he vote?

A VOICE: How will you vote?

MR. DOUGLAS: I will vote for the admission of just such a State as by the form of their constitution the people show they want; if they want slavery, they shall have it; if they prohibit slavery, it shall be prohibited. They can form their institutions to please themselves, subject only to the Constitution; and I, for one, stand ready to receive them into the Union. Why cannot your Black Republican candidates talk out as plain as that when they are questioned?

I do not want to cheat any man out of his vote. No man is deceived in regard to my principles if I have the power to express myself in terms explicit enough to convey my ideas.

Mr. Lincoln made a speech when he was nominated for the United States Senate which covers all these Abolition platforms. He there lays down a proposition so broad in its Abolitionism as to cover the whole ground.



"In my opinion it [the slavery agitation] will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States,—old as well as new, North as well as South."

There you find that Mr. Lincoln lays down the doctrine that this Union cannot endure divided as our fathers made it, with Free and Slave States. He says they must all become one thing, or all the other; that they must all be free or all slave, or else the Union cannot continue to exist; it being his opinion that to admit any more Slave States, will dissolve it. I want to know of Mr. Lincoln whether he will vote for the admission of another Slave State.

He tells you the Union cannot exist unless the States are all free or all slave; he tells you that he is opposed to making them all slave, and hence he is for making them all free, in order that the Union may exist; and yet he will not say that he will not vote against another Slave State, knowing that the Union must be dissolved if he votes for it. I ask you if that is fair dealing? The true intent and inevitable conclusion to be drawn from his first Springfield speech is, that he is opposed to the admission of any more Slave States under any circumstance. If he is so opposed, why not say so? If he believes this Union cannot endure divided into Free and Slave States, that they must all become free in order to save the Union, he is bound as an honest man to vote against any more Slave States. If he believes it, he is bound to do it. Show me that it is my duty, in order to save the Union, to do a particular act, and I will do it if the Constitution does not prohibit it. I am not for the dissolution of the Union under any circumstances. I will pursue no course of conduct that will give just cause for the dissolution of the Union. The hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world rests upon the perpetuity of this Union. The down-trodden and oppressed people who are suffering under European despotism all look with hope and anxiety to the American Union as the only resting place and permanent home of freedom and self-government.

Mr. Lincoln says that he believes that this Union cannot continue to endure with Slave States in it, and yet he will not tell you distinctly whether he will vote for or against the admission of any more Slave States, but says he would not like to be put to the test. I do not think he will be put to the test. I do not think that the people of Illinois desire a man to represent them who would not like to be put to the test on the performance of a high constitutional duty. I will retire in shame from the Senate of the United States when I am not willing to be put to the test in the performance of my duty. I have been put to severe tests. I have stood by my principles in fair weather and in foul, in the sunshine and in the rain. I have defended the great principles of self-government here among you when Northern sentiment ran in a torrent against me, and I have defended that same great principle when Southern sentiment came down like an avalanche upon me. I was not afraid of any test they put to me. I knew I was right; I knew my principles were sound; I knew that the

people would see in the end that I had done right, and I knew that the God of heaven would smile upon me if I was faithful in the performance of my duty.

Mr. Lincoln makes a charge of corruption against the Supreme Court of the United States, and two Presidents of the United States, and attempts to bolster it up by saying that I did the same against the *Washington Union*. Suppose I did make that charge of corruption against the *Washington Union*, when it was true, does that justify him in making a false charge against me and others? That is the question I would put. He says that at the time the Nebraska bill was introduced, and before it was passed, there was a conspiracy between the Judges of the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan, and myself, by that bill and the decision of the court to break down the barrier and establish slavery all over the Union. Does he not know that that charge is historically false as against President Buchanan? He knows that Mr. Buchanan was at that time in England, representing this country with distinguished ability at the Court of St. James, that he was there for a long time before, and did not return for a year or more after. He knows that to be true, and that fact proves his charges to be false against Mr. Buchanan. Then, again, I wish to call his attention to the fact that at the time the Nebraska bill was passed, the Dred Scott case was not before the Supreme Court at all; it was not upon the docket of the Supreme Court; it had not been brought there; and the judges in all probability knew nothing of it. Thus the history of the country proves the charge to be false as against them. As to President Pierce, his high character as a man of integrity and honor is enough to vindicate him from such a charge; and as to myself, I pronounce the charge an infamous lie, whenever and wherever made, and by whomsoever made. I am willing that Mr. Lincoln should go and rake up every public act of mine, every measure I have introduced, report I have made, speech delivered, and criticise them; but when he charges upon me a corrupt conspiracy for the purpose of perverting the institutions of the country, I brand it as it deserves. I say the history of the country proves it to be false, and that it could not have been possible at the time. But now he tries to protect himself in this charge, because I made a charge against the *Washington Union*. My speech in the Senate against the *Washington Union* was made because it advocated a revolutionary doctrine, by declaring that the Free States had not the right to prohibit slavery within their own limits. Because I made that charge against the *Washington Union*, Mr. Lincoln says it was a charge against Mr. Buchanan. Suppose it was: is Mr. Lincoln the peculiar defender of Mr. Buchanan? Is he so interested in the Federal Administration, and so bound to it, that he must jump to the rescue and defend it from every attack that I may make against it? I understand the whole thing. The *Washington Union*, under the most corrupt of all men, Cornelius Wendell, is advocating Mr. Lincoln's claim to the Senate. Wendell was the printer of the last Black Republican House of Representatives; he was a candidate before the present Democratic House, but was ignominiously kicked out; and then he took the money which he had made out of the public printery by means of the Black Republicans, bought the *Washington Union*, and is now publishing it in the name of the Democratic party, and advocating Mr. Lincoln's election to the Senate. Mr. Lincoln therefore considers an attack upon Wendell and his corrupt gang as a personal attack upon him. This only proves what I have charged,—that there is an alliance between Lincoln and his supporters, and the Federal office-



holders of this State, and the Presidential aspirants out of it, to break me down at home.

Mr. Lincoln feels bound to come in to the rescue of the Washington *Union*. In that speech which I delivered in answer to the Washington *Union*, I made it distinctly against the *Union*, and against the *Union* alone. I did not choose to go beyond that. If I have reason to attack the President's conduct, I will do it in language that will not be misunderstood. When I differed with the President, I spoke out so that you all heard me. That question passed away; it resulted in the triumph of my principle, by allowing the people to do as they please; and there is an end of the controversy. Whenever the great principle of self-government,—the right of the people to make their own Constitution, and come into the Union with slavery or without it, as they see proper,—shall again arise, you will find me standing firm in defence of that principle, and fighting whoever fights it. If Mr. Buchanan stands, as I doubt not he will, by the recommendation contained in his Message, that hereafter all State constitutions ought to be submitted to the people before the admission of the State into the Union, he will find me standing by him firmly, shoulder to shoulder, in carrying it out. I know Mr. Lincoln's object: he wants to divide the Democratic party, in order that he may defeat me and get to the Senate.

[MR. DOUGLAS'S time here expired, and he stopped on the moment.]

### Mr. Lincoln's Rejoinder

MY FRIENDS: It will readily occur to you that I cannot, in half an hour, notice all the things that so able a man as Judge Douglas can say in an hour and a half; and I hope, therefore, if there be anything that he has said upon which you would like to hear something from me, but which I omit to comment upon, you will bear in mind that it would be expecting an impossibility for me to go over his whole ground. I can but take up some of the points that he has dwelt upon, and employ my half-hour specially on them.

The first thing I have to say to you is a word in regard to Judge Douglas's declaration about the "vulgarity and blackguardism" in the audience,—that no such thing, as he says, was shown by any Democrat while I was speaking. Now, I only wish, by way of reply on this subject, to say that while I was speaking, I used no "vulgarity or blackguardism" toward any Democrat.

Now, my friends, I come to all this long portion of the Judge's speech,—perhaps half of it,—which he has devoted to the various resolutions and platforms that have been adopted in the different counties in the different Congressional Districts, and in the Illinois Legislature, which he supposes are at variance with the positions I have assumed before you today. It is true that many of these resolutions are at variance with the positions I have here assumed. All I have to ask is that we talk reasonably and rationally about it. I happen to know, the Judge's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, that I have never tried to conceal my opinions, nor tried to deceive any one in reference to them. He may go and examine all the members who voted for me for United States Senator in 1855, after the election of 1854. They were pledged to certain things here at home, and were determined to have pledges from me; and if he will find any of these persons who will tell him anything inconsistent with what I say now, I will resign, or rather retire from the race, and give him no more trouble. The plain truth is this:

At the introduction of the Nebraska policy, we believed there was a new era being introduced in the history of the Republic, which tended to the spread and perpetuation of slavery. But in our opposition to that measure we did not agree with one another in everything. The people in the north end of the State were for stronger measures of opposition than we of the central and southern portions of the State, but we were all opposed to the Nebraska doctrine. We had that one feeling and that one sentiment in common. You at the north end met in your Conventions and passed your resolutions. We in the middle of the State and further south did not hold such Conventions and pass the same resolutions, although we had in general a common view and a common sentiment. So that these meetings which the Judge has alluded to, and the resolutions he



Mt. Vernon Home of Washington

has read from, were local, and did not spread over the whole State. We at last met together in 1856, from all parts of the State, and we agreed upon a common platform. You, who held more extreme notions, either yielded those notions, or, if not wholly yielding them, agreed to yield them practically, for the sake of embodying the opposition to the measures which the opposite party were pushing forward at that time. We met you then, and if there was anything yielded, it was for practical purposes. We agreed then upon a platform for the party throughout the entire State of Illinois, and now we are all bound, as a party, to that platform. And I say here to you, if any one expects me—in the case of my election—that I will do anything not signified by our Republican platform and my answers here today, I tell you very frankly that person will be deceived. I do not ask for the vote of any one who supposes that I have secret purposes or pledges that I dare not speak out. Cannot the Judge be satisfied? If he fears, in the unfortunate case of my election, that my going to Washington will enable me to advocate sentiments contrary to those which I expressed when you voted for and elected me, I assure him that his fears are wholly needless and groundless. Is the Judge really afraid of any such thing? I'll tell you what he is afraid of. *He is afraid we'll all pull together.* This is what alarms him more than anything else. For my part, I do hope that all of us, entertaining a common sentiment in opposition to what appears to us a design to nationalize and perpetuate slavery, will waive minor differences on questions which either belong to the dead past or the distant future, and all pull together in this struggle. What are your sentiments? If it be true that on the ground which I occupy—ground which I occupy as



frankly and boldly as Judge Douglas does his,—my views, though partly coinciding with yours, are not as perfectly in accordance with your feelings as his are, I do say to you in all candor, go for him, and not for me. I hope to deal in all things fairly with Judge Douglas, and with the people of the State in this contest. And if I should never be elected to any office, I trust I may go down with no stain of falsehood upon my reputation, notwithstanding the hard opinions Judge Douglas chooses to entertain of me.

The Judge has again addressed himself to the Abolition tendencies of a speech of mine made at Springfield in June last. I have so often tried to answer what he is always saying on that melancholy theme that I almost turn with disgust from the discussion,—from the repetition of an answer to it. I trust that nearly all of this intelligent audience have read that speech. If you have, I may venture to leave it to you to inspect it closely, and see whether it contains any of those "bugaboos" which frighten Judge Douglas.

The Judge complains that I did not fully answer his questions. If I have the sense to comprehend and answer those questions, I have done so fairly. If it can be pointed out to me how I can more fully and fairly answer him, I aver I have not the sense to see how it is to be done. He says, I do not declare I would in any event vote for the admission of a Slave State into the Union. If I have been fairly reported, he will see that I did give an explicit answer to his interrogatories; I did not merely say that I would dislike to be put to the test, but I said clearly, if I were put to the test, and a Territory from which slavery had been excluded should present herself with a State constitution sanctioning slavery,—a most extraordinary thing, and wholly unlikely to happen,—I did not see how I could avoid voting for her admission. But he refuses to understand that I said so, and he wants this audience to understand that I did not say so. Yet it will be so reported in the printed speech that he cannot help seeing it.

He says if I should vote for the admission of a Slave State I would be voting for a dissolution of the Union, because I hold that the Union cannot permanently exist half slave and half free. I repeat that I do not believe this government *can* endure permanently half slave and half free; yet I do not admit, nor does it all follow, that the admission of a single Slave State will permanently fix the character and establish this as a universal slave nation. The Judge is very happy indeed at working up these quibbles. Before leaving the subject of answering questions, I aver as my confident belief, when you come to see our speeches in print, that you will find every question which he has asked me more fairly and boldly and fully answered than he has answered those which I put to him. Is not that so? The two speeches may be placed side by side, and I will venture to leave it to impartial judges whether his questions have been more directly and circumstantially answered than mine.

Judge Douglas says he made a charge upon the editor of the Washington *Union*, alone, of entertaining a purpose to rob the States of their power to exclude slavery from their limits. I undertake to say, and I make the direct issue, that he did *not* make his charge against the editor of the *Union* alone. I will undertake to prove by the record here that he made that charge against more and higher dignitaries than the editor of the Washington *Union*. I am quite aware that he was shirking and dodging around the form in which he put it, but I can make it manifest that he leveled his "fatal blow" against more persons than this Washington editor.

Will he dodge it now by alleging that I am trying to defend Mr. Buchanan against the charge? Not at all. Am I not making the same charge myself? I am trying to show that you, Judge Douglas, are a witness on my side. I am not defending Buchanan, and I will tell Judge Douglas that in my opinion, when he made that charge, he had an eye farther north than he was today. He was then fighting against people who called *him* a Black Republican and an Abolitionist. It is mixed all through his speech, and it is tolerably manifest that his eye was a great deal farther north than it is today. The Judge says that though he made this charge, Toombs got up and declared there was not a man in the United States, except the editor of the *Union*, who was in favor of the doctrines put forth in that article. And thereupon I understand that the Judge withdrew the charge. Although he had taken extracts from the newspaper and then from the Lecompton Constitution, to show the existence of a conspiracy to bring about a "fatal blow," by which the States were to be deprived of the right of excluding slavery, it all went to pot as soon as Toombs got up and told him it was not true. It reminds me of the story that John Phoenix, the California railroad surveyor, tells. He says they started out from the Plaza to the Mission of Dolores. They had two ways of determining distances. One was by a chain and pins taken over the ground. The other was by a "go-it-ometer,"—an invention of his own,—a three-legged instrument, with which he computed a series of triangles between the points. At night he turned to the chainman to ascertain what distance they had come, and found that by some mistake he had merely dragged the chain over the ground, without keeping any record. By the "go-it-ometer" he found he had made ten miles. Being skeptical about this, he asked a drayman who was passing how far it was to the Plaza. The drayman replied it was just half a mile; and the surveyor put it down in his book,—just as Judge Douglas says, after he had made his calculations and computations, he took Toomb's statement. I have no doubt that after Judge Douglas had made his charge, he was as easily satisfied about its truth as the surveyor was of the drayman's statement of the distance to the Plaza. Yet it is a fact that the man who put forth all that matter which Douglas deemed a "fatal blow" at State sovereignty, was elected by the Democrats as public printer.

Now, gentlemen, you may take Judge Douglas's speech of March 22, 1858, beginning about the middle of page 21, and reading to the bottom of page 24, and you will find the evidence of which I say that he did not make his charge against the editor of the *Union* alone. I cannot stop to read it, but I will give it to the reporters. Judge Douglas said:—

"Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington *Union* editorially, and apparently *authoritatively*, and every man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a Free-soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are, first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of persons and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the Government and Constitution of the United States; and, fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage on the rights of



property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.

"Remember that this article was published in the *Union* on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article, giving the adhesion of the *Union* to the Lecompton Constitution. It was in these words:—

"'KANSAS AND HER CONSTITUTION.—The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dead point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone—'

"And a column, nearly, of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton Constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the *Union*. What is it?

"'ARTICLE 7, Section 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as invariable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.'"

"Then in the schedule is a provision that the Constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.

"'But no alteration shall be made to effect the right of property in the ownership of slaves.'

"It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article in the Washington *Union* of the day previous to its endorsement of this Constitution.

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union."

Here he says, "Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly, and apparently *authoritatively*" By whose authority, Judge Douglas? Again, he says in another place, "It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article." By whose authority? Who do you mean to say authorized

the publication of these articles? He knows that the Washington *Union* is considered the organ of the Administration. I demand of Judge Douglas by whose authority he meant to say those articles were published, if not by the authority of the President of the United States and his Cabinet? I defy him to show whom he referred to, if not to these high functionaries in the Federal Government. More than this, he says the articles in that paper and the provisions of the Lecompton Constitution are "identical," and, being identical, he argues that the authors are co-operating and conspiring together. He does not use the word "conspiring," but what other construction can you put upon it? He winds up with this:—

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of the Union."

I ask him if all this fuss was made over the editor of this newspaper. It would be a terribly "*fatal blow*" indeed which a single man could strike, when no President, no Cabinet officer, no member of Congress, was giving strength and efficiency to the moment. Out of respect to Judge Douglas's good sense I must believe he didn't manufacture his idea of the "fatal" character of that blow out of such a miserable scapegrace as he represents that editor to be. But the Judge's eye is farther south now. Then, it was very peculiarly and decidedly north. His hope rested on the idea of visiting the great "Black Republican" party, and making it the tail of his new kite. He knows he was then expecting from day to day to turn Republican, and place himself at the head of our organization. He has found that these despised "Black Republicans" estimate him by a standard which he has taught them none too well. Hence he is crawling back into his old camp, and you will find him eventually installed in full fellowship among those whom he was then battling, and with whom he now pretends to be at such fearful variance. [Loud applause, and cries of "Go on, go on."] I cannot, gentlemen; my time has expired."









